

10
A
N A R R A T I V E

OF THE

TRANSACTIONS

PERSONALLY RELATING TO THE UNFORTUNATE

LEWIS THE SIXTEENTH,

KING OF FRANCE AND NAVARRE;

FROM THE

PERIOD OF HIS EVASION FROM PARIS,

ON THE TWENTIETH OF JUNE, 1791.

TO

HIS DEATH,

ON

THE TWENTY-FIRST OF JANUARY, 1793.

By JOHN GIFFORD, Esq.

AUTHOR OF THE HISTORY OF FRANCE.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR W. LOCKE, N° 12, RED LION STREET, HOLBORN.

M.DCC.XCIII.

A R R A T I V E

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

LEWIS AND CLARK

OF THE

OF THE

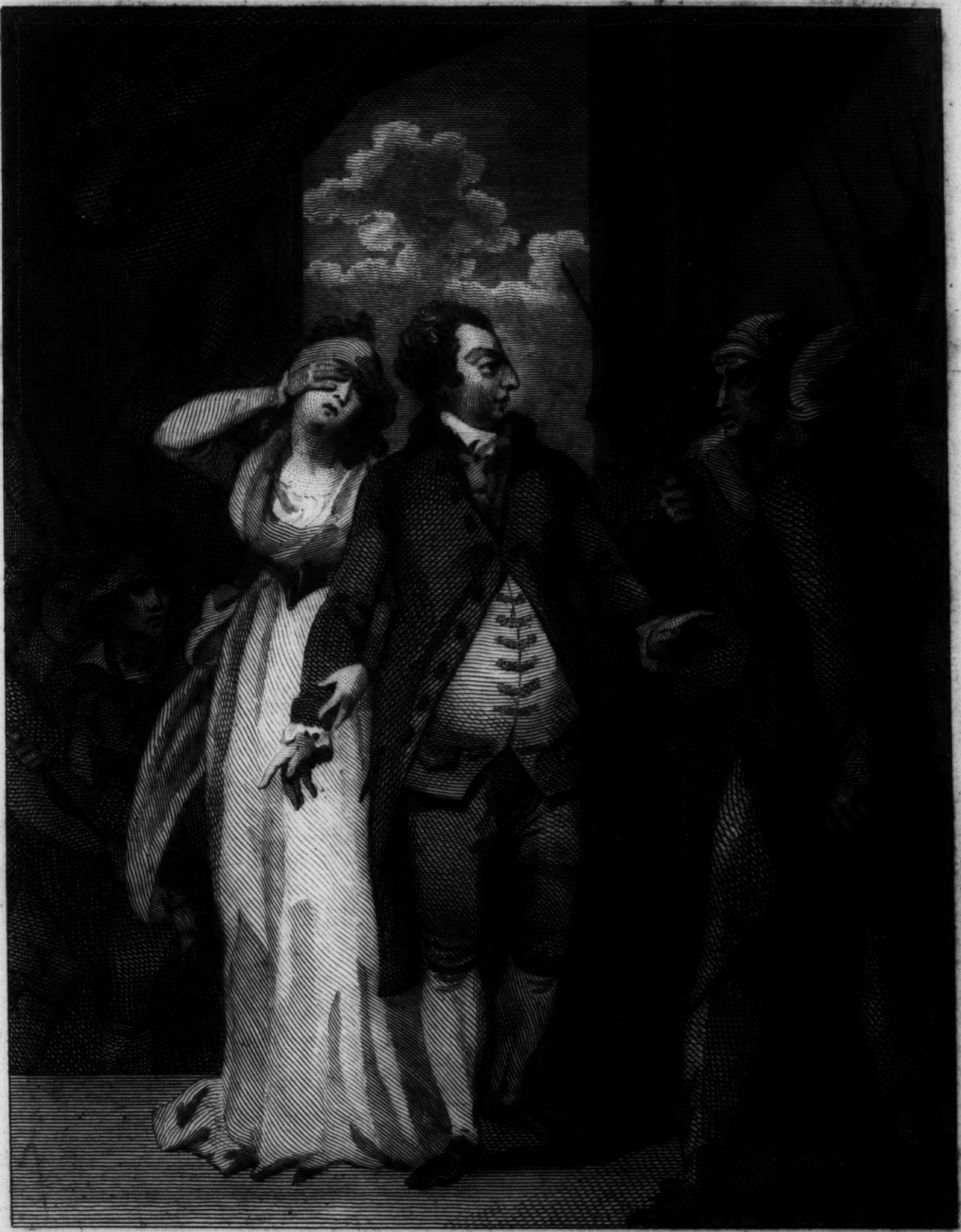
OF THE

OF THE

46
2 12
95

OLD





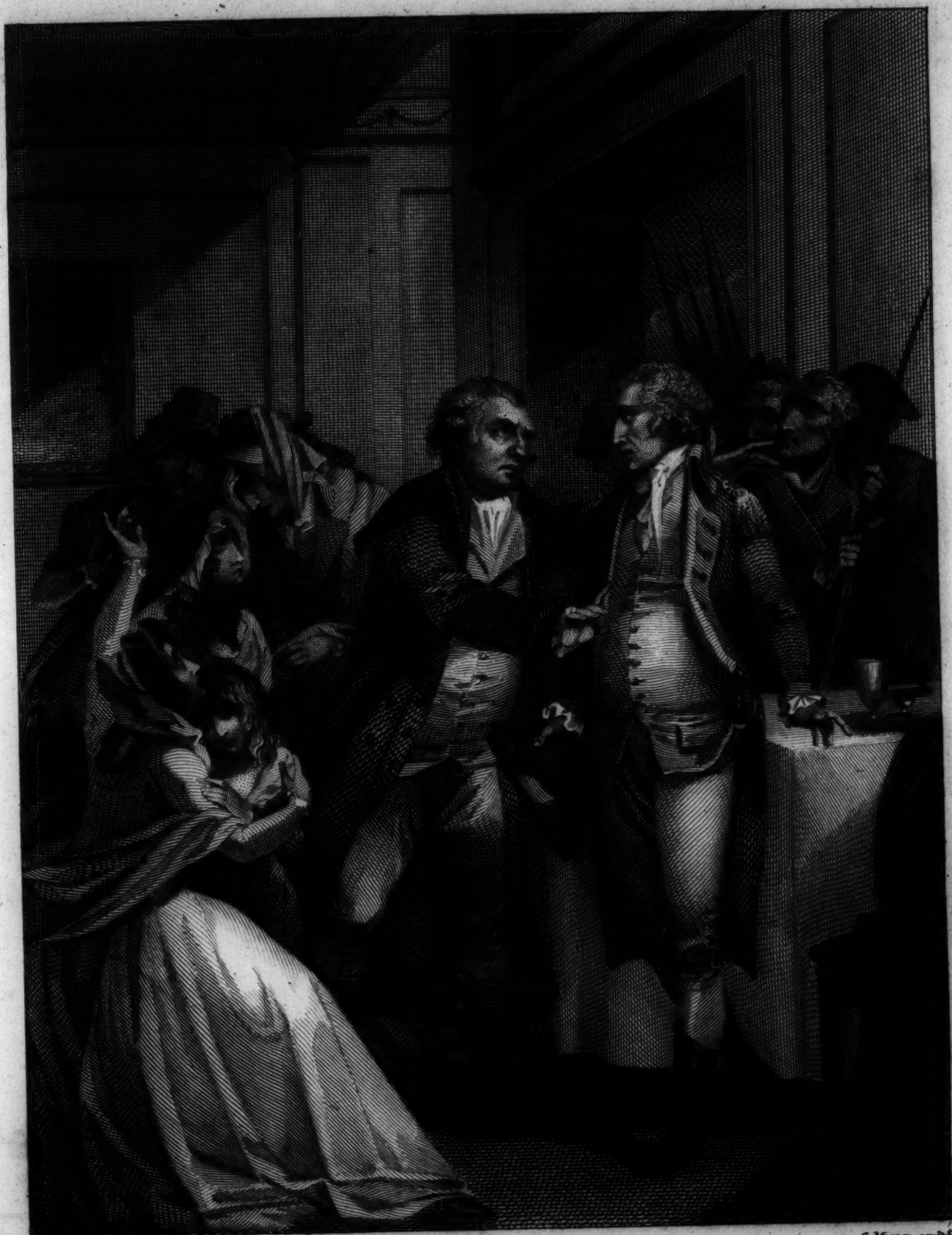
H. Singleton, delin.

R. Meyer, sculp.

*The Fortitude displayed by Louis XVI.th
when the Rabble entered the Thuilleries.*

Published as the Act directs, by W. Locks, May, 7. 1794.



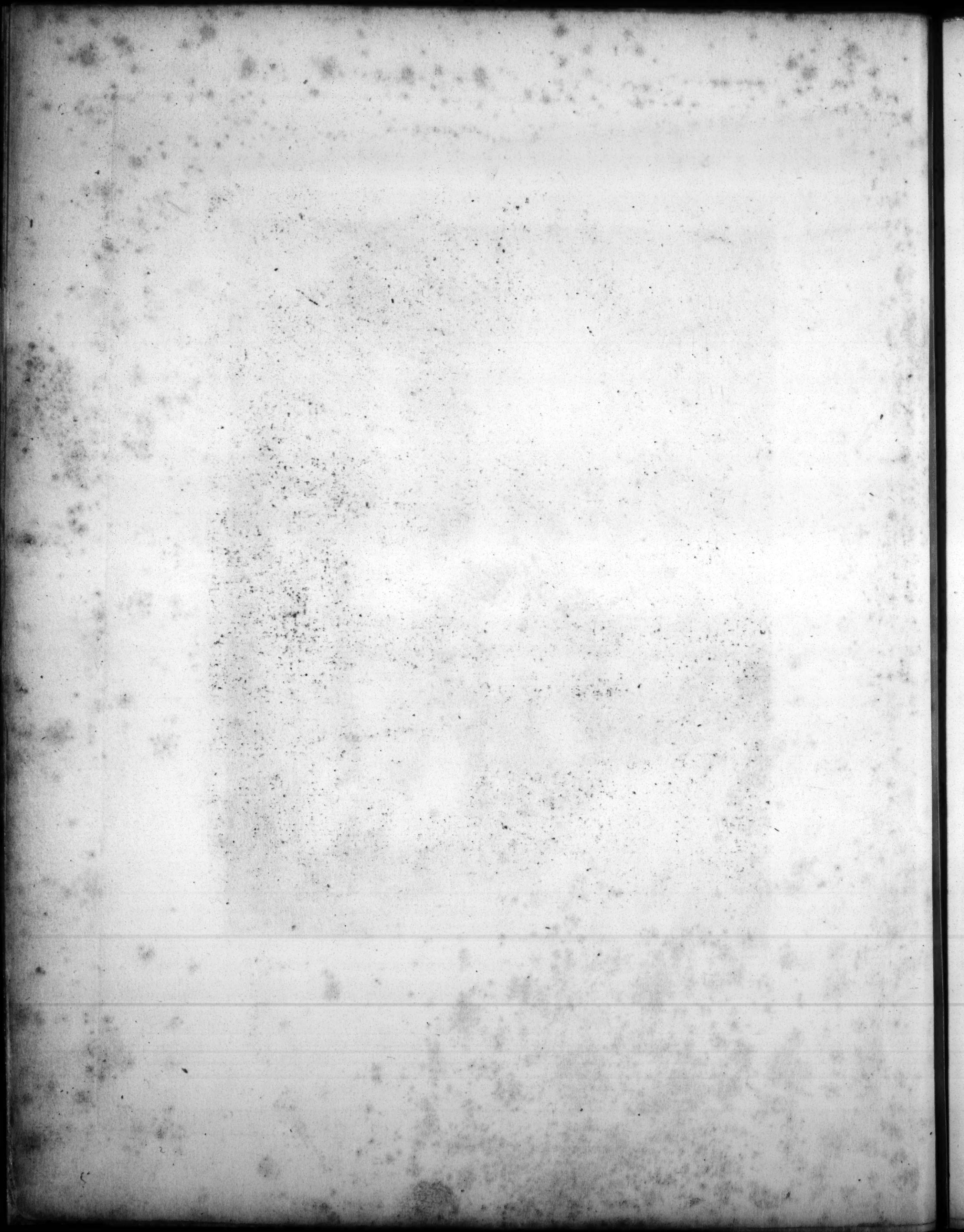


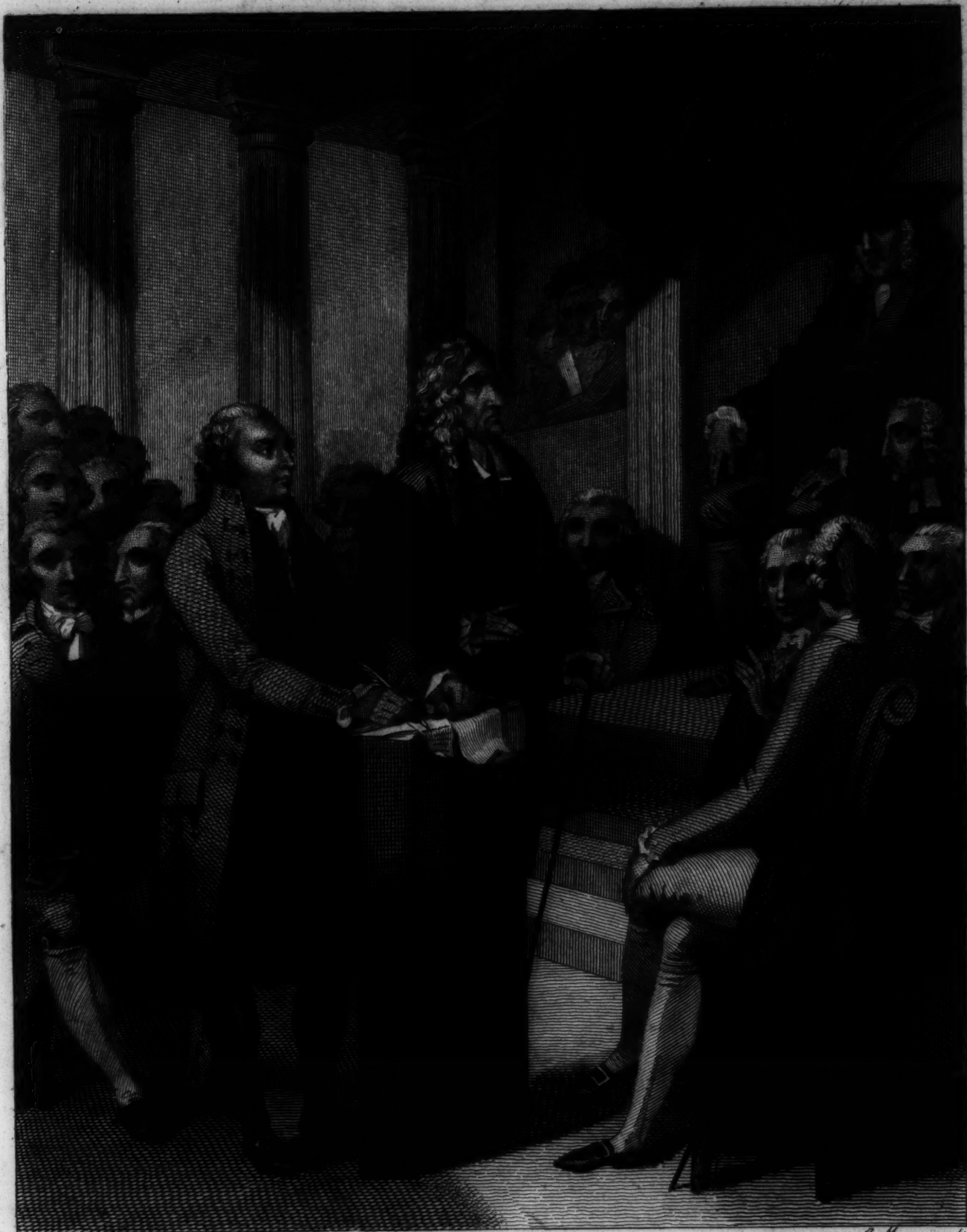
H. Singleton, delin^t

G. Murray, sculp^t

*LOUIS XVI. stop'd at VARENNES,
in his way from Paris to Montmedi.*

Published as the Act directs, by W. Locke, May 7. 1794.



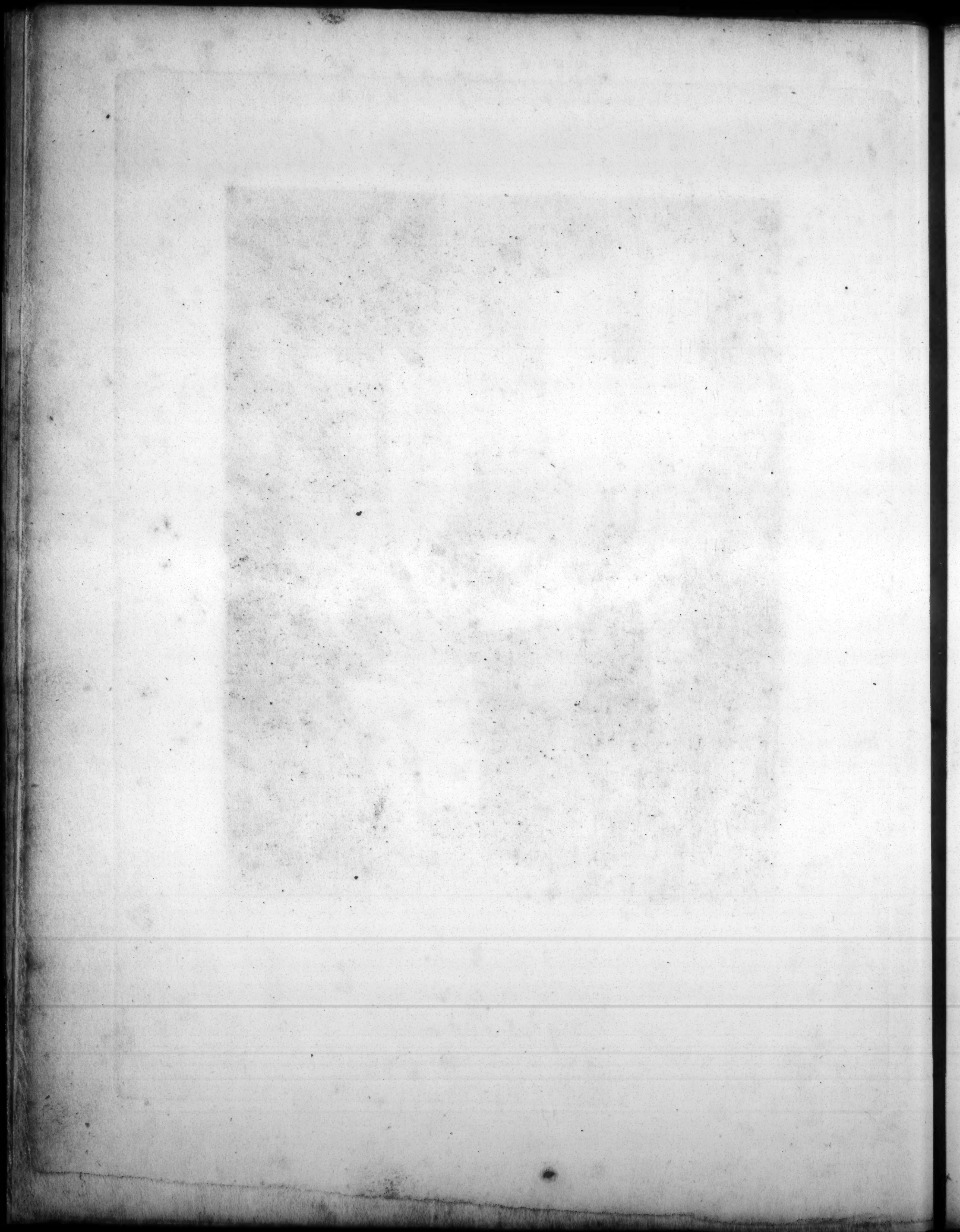


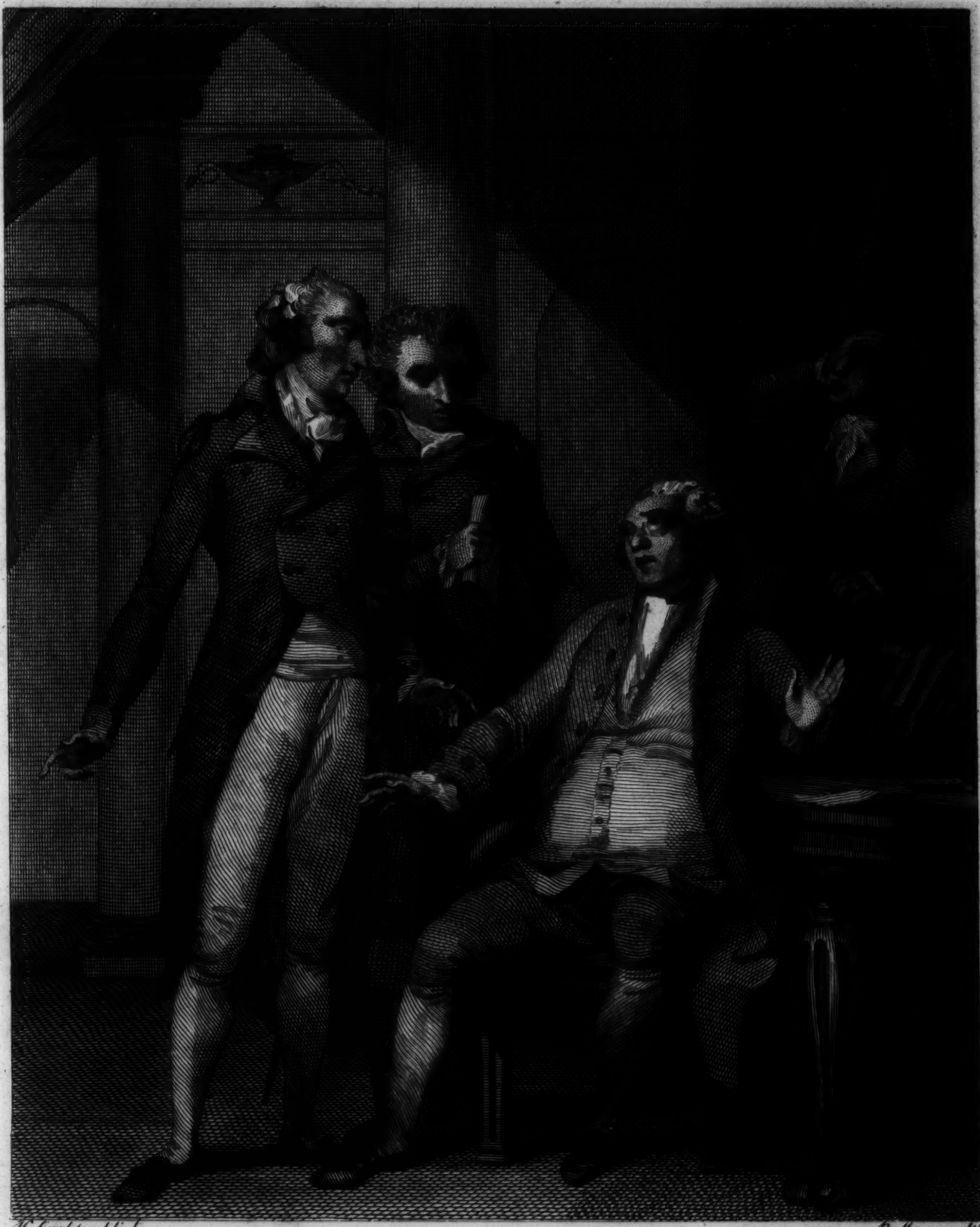
LOUIS XVI ON HIS TRIAL

BEFORE THE

National Convention.

Published as the Act directs by W. Lockie Aug. 26. 1793.



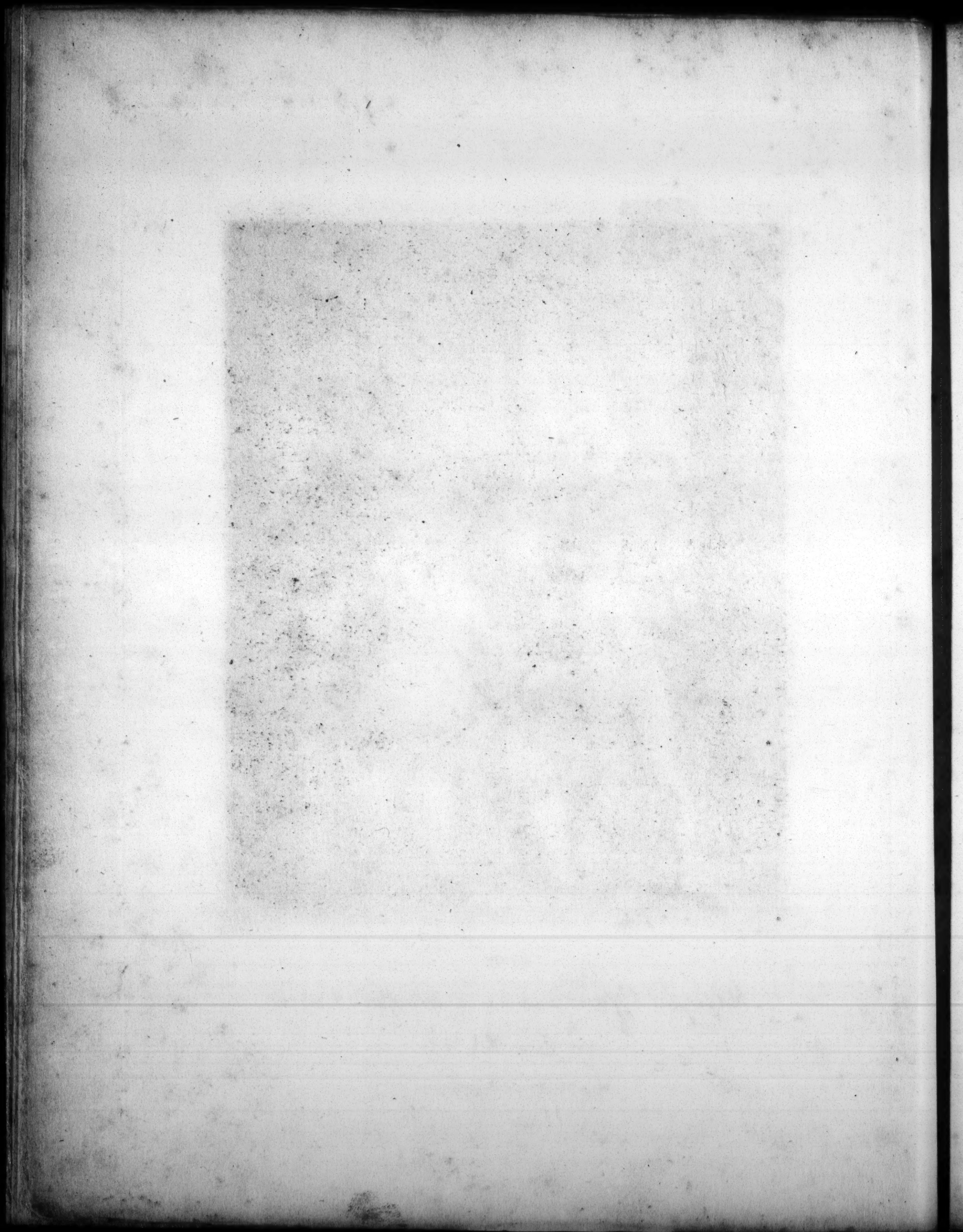


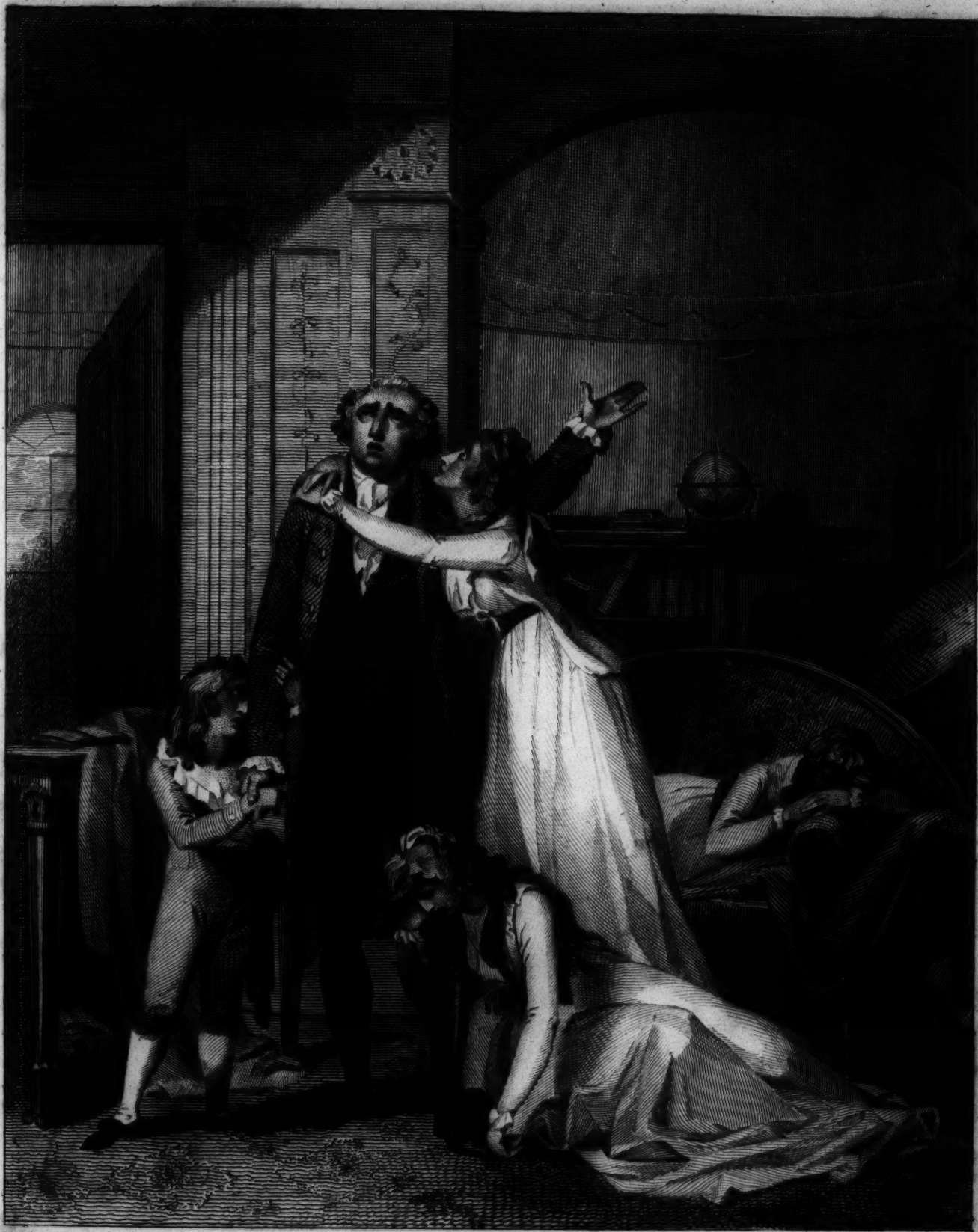
H. Singleton delin.

R. Myers sculp.

THE
Municipal Officers imparting the dreadful Sentence
TO THE KING.

Published as the Act directs by W. Locke, October 23^d 1793.





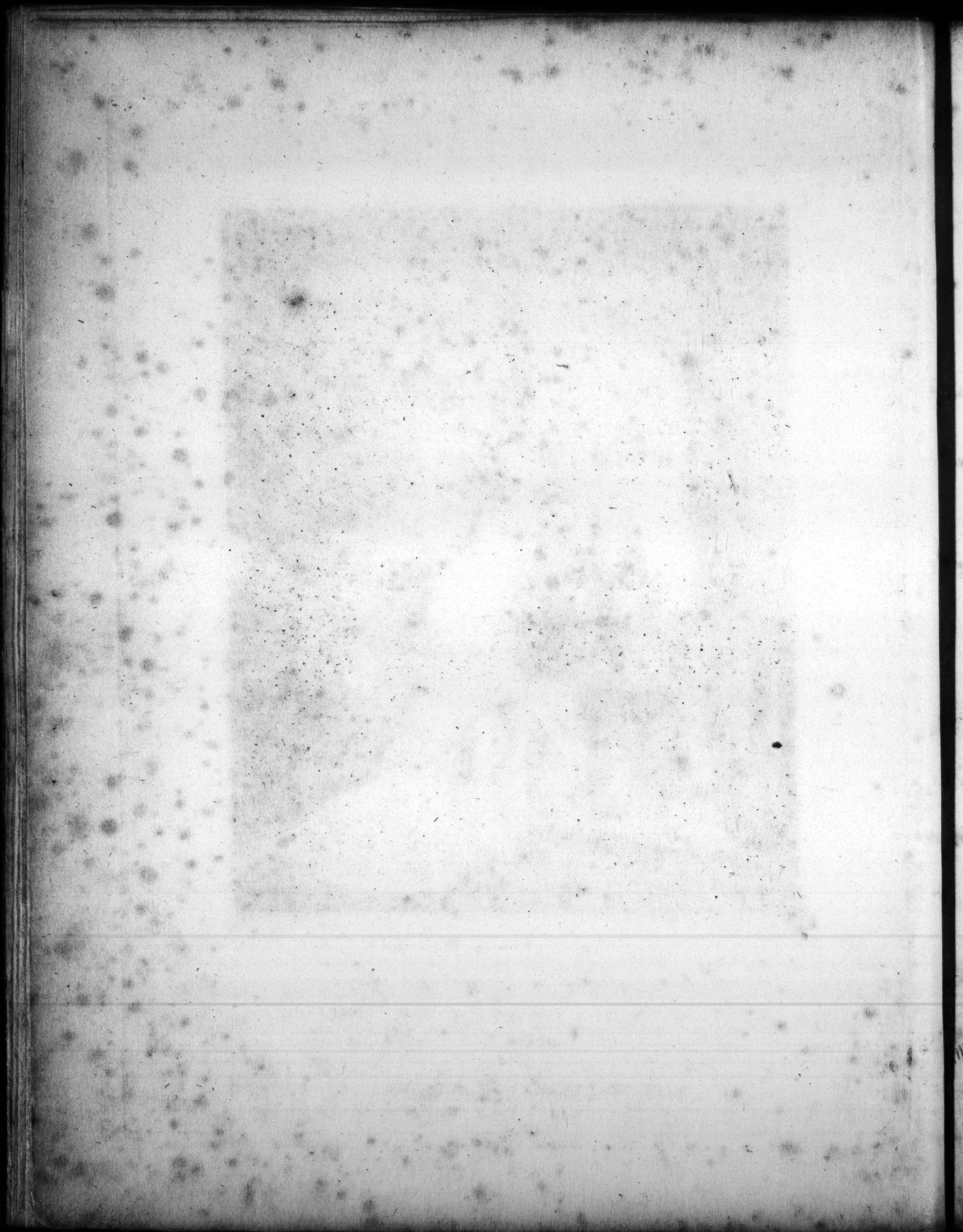
H. Singleton del.

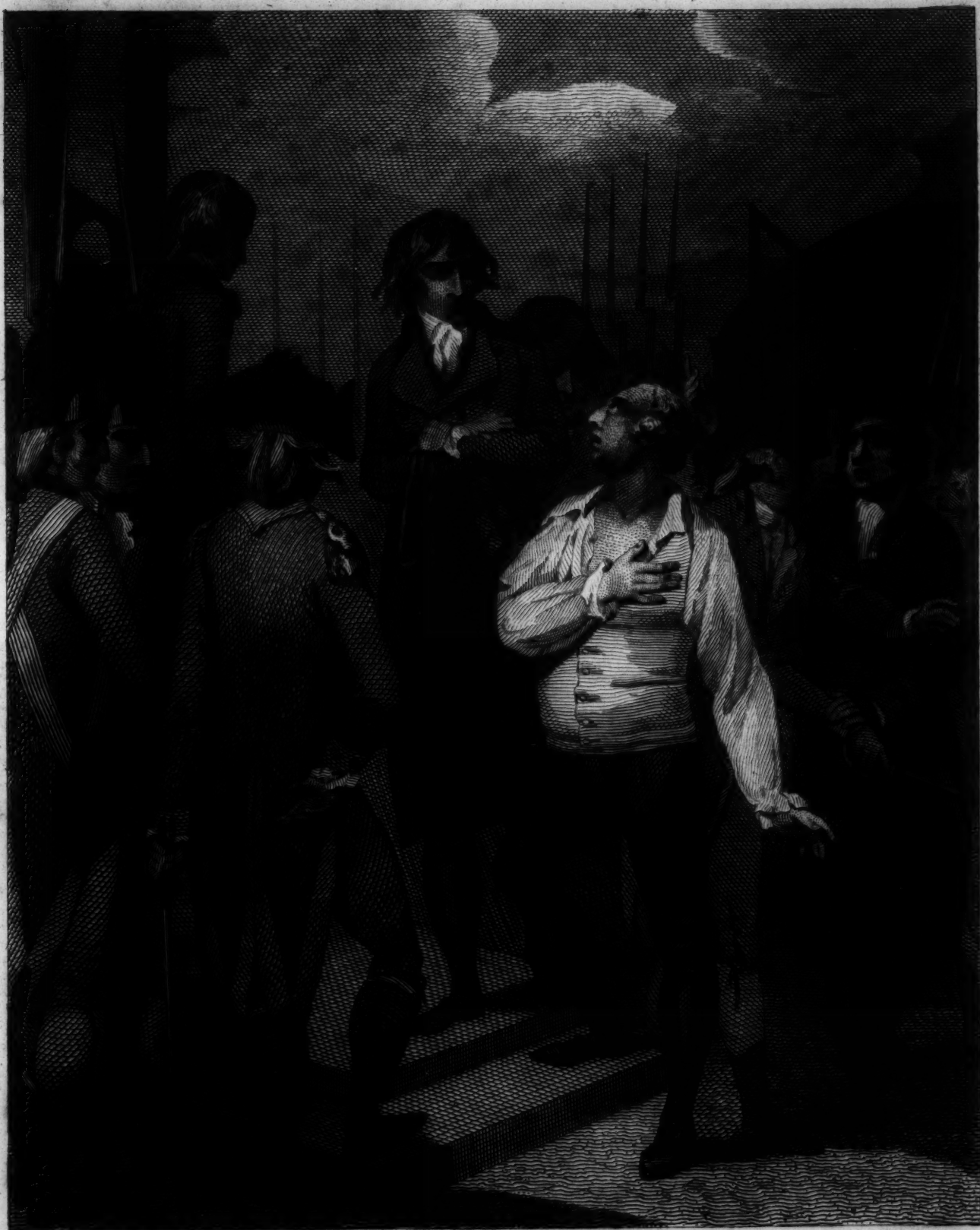
Murray sculp.

The Last Interview of

LOUIS XVI AND HIS FAMILY.

Published as the Act directs by W. Lockie May, 4. 1793.





H. Singleton del.

R. Myers sculp.

LOUIS XVI Ascending the SCAFFOLD.

Publ'd as the Act directs by W. Loeke July 17. 1793.



NARRATIVE.

WHATEVER difference of sentiment may prevail, with regard to the justice and policy of a Revolution, more astonishing in its origin, more interesting in its progress, and more important in its consequences, than any which the page of history can present to the eye of Philosophy; but one opinion, we trust, can obtain on the subject of an event which has excited mingled sensations of indignation and horror throughout all the countries of Europe.—A Monarch sacrificed to the designing arts of a desperate faction, or the mad zeal of a misguided multitude, exhibits an awfully-instructive spectacle to mankind: a spectacle which, while it rouses all the generous feelings of our nature, impels our judgment to extraordinary exertions; and renders the heart the monitor of the mind.

To enter upon any discussion of the merits of the French Revolution, would be foreign from the purpose of a Narrative, meant only to comprise a statement of facts, personally relating to the unfortunate Lewis, during the last eighteen months of his existence. Such a discussion, too, would lead me greatly to exceed the limits prescribed to a publication like the present: It will form the subject of the last Volume of my General History of France, where the rise, progress, and effects of the Revolution, with every circumstance, either intimately or remotely connected with that important and interesting event, derived from sources of intelligence the most

copious and authentic—sources hitherto unexplored by the historian—will be duly investigated and amply detailed.

The speech of the King, on the opening of the States-General, in the spring of 1789, unequivocally proclaimed the affection he bore to his subjects; and his subsequent attempts, at the instigation of Neckar, to promote a *consolidation* of the three orders into one, which tended to facilitate the subversion of the rights and privileges of the nobility and clergy, and consequently to effect a diminution of his own influence, sufficiently proved how much he had the tranquillity of his kingdom at heart. But candour must superinduce the acknowledgment, that he was frequently debarred from the free enjoyment of those privileges, and the free exercise of those rights, which, according to the new order of things, he was allowed to retain; and that after his removal from the palace of Versailles to the *prison* of the Tuilleries, he laboured under restraints, from which the meanest subject in his dominions was exempted, and which equally militated against the spirit and letter of the law. It will easily be conceived, that, to a mind unaccustomed to controul, a situation thus irksome must appear insupportable; and Lewis, accordingly, resolved to seek, in the secure retreat of a distant fortress, that freedom which he could not hope to enjoy in the heart of his capital.

As soon as this resolution was adopted, the necessary means for putting it in execution were prepared, and a proclamation was drawn up, in the King's name, addressed to his subjects, containing the motives of his conduct, and a justification of the measure he had been induced to pursue. He observed, that he had made every sacrifice, with a view to promote the re-establishment of order and happiness; and, could he have succeeded in the attainment of an object so desirable, would the deprivation of his personal liberty, which for a period of twenty months he had suffered without repining,

repining, have extorted from him the slightest murmur of discontent. But finding that all the sacrifices to which he had so cheerfully consented had only tended to expose his person to the most imminent danger, and to produce the annihilation of royalty, the invasion of private property, the extension of anarchy throughout the empire, and the destruction of all lawful authority, he was compelled to the adoption of a different line of conduct.

Adverting to his removal from Versailles, in October 1789, he remarked, that at that period crimes of the highest magnitude were suffered to pass with impunity in the capital, whither he was transferred: that the apartments destined for his reception in the Tuilleries were destitute, not only of every accommodation to which he had been accustomed in the other places of his residence, but even of those comforts which persons in moderate circumstances are enabled to enjoy: that he had been forced to dismiss his body guards, of whose fidelity and attachment he had repeatedly received the most unequivocal proofs: that two of these unhappy men had been massacred, and many of them wounded, in executing the orders he had given them—*not to fire*: that every artifice had been employed by the factious to traduce and calumniate his royal consort, whose conduct was exemplary: that he himself had been exposed to the dangerous machinations of his enemies, being forcibly surrounded by persons whose principles he suspected, and deprived of the command of the troops appointed to guard his palace.

After stating the insults and dangers to which his person had been exposed, he proceeded to expatiate on the unjust invasion of his power and prerogatives. He maintained, that he was totally excluded from the constitution, by the destruction of his right to sanction constitutional acts; by the latitude of interpretation assumed in the arrangement of such acts; and by the limitation of his *veto* to the period of the third legislature. He observed,
that

that he had been deprived of the unalienable patrimony of his ancestors, and that the few domains of which he was yet allowed the temporary use, were clogged with restrictions that diminished their value and importance. He maintained, that he had no share in the formation of laws; and that the only privilege he enjoyed was, that of *deferring* the National Assembly to take particular objects into consideration. In the administration of justice, his authority was confined to the payment of the salaries of the judges, and to the nomination of commissaries, whose powers were extremely circumscribed. He complained, that the most enviable of all his prerogatives, the privilege of pardoning criminals, and commuting their punishments, had been wrested from him, to the diminution of the majesty of the throne, which the people had been accustomed to consider as the center of goodness and beneficence.

Alluding to the defects of the new system of government, he averred, that the lawful power of the ministers had been diverted from its natural channel, and usurped by *Clubs*, composed of persons styling themselves *Friends to the Constitution*, who controlled the acts of the legislature, and governed the kingdom with absolute sway: that though *he* had been declared supreme Head of the army, the whole business of the war department was exclusively transacted by committees of the National Assembly: that though he had been allowed the privilege of nomination to certain places, his appointments had experienced opposition; and general officers chosen by him had been dismissed, because his choice had offended the *clubs*.

He complained of the neglect of the Assembly in matters of finance; asserting, that they wasted in hypothetical calculations that time which ought to be devoted to the adoption of salutary regulations; while the taxes were greatly in arrears, and the resource of twelve hundred millions of assignats was nearly exhausted. He maintained, that the power granted by the law to
the

the agents of the King had been virtually destroyed by the tyrannical conduct of the reigning party ; that the Assembly exceeded the bounds of their authority, and exercised, by their committees of research, the most barbarous acts of despotism. He observed, that the *clubs* of " Friends to the Constitution " had erected corporations infinitely more dangerous than those which had been overturned ; deliberating on every part of the government, and exercising a power so very preponderant, that all bodies of men, not excepting the National Assembly itself, were subject to their orders. He lamented the perpetuation of anarchy by the daily publication of calumnious pamphlets, circulated by those *clubs* ; while the Assembly, confining its attention to the establishment of a metaphysical government, impossible in its execution, did not dare to apply a remedy to such disorders.

He asked his people whether they expected such conduct from their representatives ; and whether it was their wish, that the despotism of Clubs should effect the abolition of Monarchy, under which the nation had flourished for the long space of fourteen hundred years ? He appealed from his *factions* to his *faithful* subjects ; and recapitulated the insults he had sustained, and the indignities he had suffered since his arrival at the metropolis. He observed, that an innocent person had been murdered in the gardens of his palace, and almost in his presence, while all those who made religion or the throne the object of their ridicule, or the subject of their censures, received the highest honours : that when his aunts were going to Rome, they were repeatedly stopped on the road, in direct violation of the declaration of rights, until the pleasure of the National Assembly was known ; while his own orders incurred nothing but disobedience and contempt : that in a commotion at Vincennes, those who had assembled about his person to afford him protection, were maltreated, and their arms taken from them in his presence : that, on his recovery from an indisposition, he wished to go to St. Cloud, from motives of devotion ; but his journey was stopped by the interference

ference of one of the *clubs*, who laid violent hands on his attendants, and compelled him to return to his *prison*.

He concluded his proclamation, by exhorting the inhabitants of Paris to mistrust the suggestions of faction, and to return to their King, who would become their friend, whenever they should be brought to revere their holy religion, whenever the government should be fixed upon a firm foundation, and liberty established on a basis not to be shaken.

Every preparation for his departure being completed, the King, in the night of the twentieth of June 1791, left the Tuilleries, accompanied by the Queen, the Princess Royal, the Dauphin, Madame Elizabeth (sister to Lewis) and Madame Tourzelles, governess to the Princess, with a view to repair to Montmedy, a strong fortress in the duchy of Luxembourg, formerly possessed by the Spaniards, but ceded to the French by the treaty of the Pyrenees, in 1657. The Marquis de Bouillé, an officer who commanded, during the last war, the French forces in the West Indies, where he was equally distinguished for humanity and courage, had stationed detachments of horse on the road, in order to facilitate the evasion of his Sovereign, and to protect him from molestation or insult.

The Royal Family passed unnoticed, until their arrival at St. Menehoud, in the evening of the twenty-first; where, as they were stopping to change horses, they were recognized by Drouet, master of the post-house, who had formerly been a private dragoon in the regiment of Condé. With the Queen's face he appears to have been well acquainted, and the resemblance of the King's to his effigy on the assignats was too striking to be mistaken: the detachment of horse, which escorted the carriages, confirmed this man in his opinion; and he immediately resolved to take proper measures for preventing Lewis and his family from completing their journey.

No

No sooner had the carriages proceeded on their road, than Drouet, accompanied by one Guillaume, mounted his horse, and, by striking across the country, contrived to reach Varennes before the Royal Family. The night was dark, and far advanced, and all the inhabitants had retired to rest. The first step taken by Drouet and his companion was to overset a loaded waggon, which they found on the bridge of Varennes, over which the King must pass on leaving that town, so as to stop up the passage. He then communicated his discovery and intentions to the master of an inn, the *procureur syndique*, and the mayor of the place. The alarm being given, a sufficient number of persons was speedily assembled; who stopped the carriages the moment they arrived, and applied to the persons within for their passports. A passport was accordingly produced by the Queen, granted to the Barons de Korff, and authorising her and her attendants to repair, unmolested, to Frankfort. Being duly signed, some were of opinion that the travellers should be suffered to proceed; but the civil magistrate interfered, and observed, that the obstruction to their passage, and the report which prevailed in the town, should induce them to alight at his house; to which, after some hesitation, they consented.

Meanwhile, a detachment of Hussars arriving, several pieces of cannon were placed in the street by the inhabitants, near the house where the King was, and before which the horse drew up. The procureur told the Hussars, it was suspected the King was the person who had alighted there; and he expressed his conviction, that they were too good citizens to favour his escape. The Hussars were commanded by an aid-du-camp of the Marquis of Bouillé; who being asked by the King when they should proceed on their journey, replied, that he only waited for his Majesty's orders.

The unhappy Monarch, being now conscious that he was known, threw himself into the arms of the municipal officer, and exclaimed—"It is true,

B

"I am

“I am your King! Reiterated threats have compelled me to fly from the capital. I came into the country with a view to place myself in the midst of my faithful subjects.—I can stay no longer in Paris, without exposing myself and my family to certain death.” He embraced all who stood near him, and earnestly conjured them to let him depart. With equal earnestness they urged him to remain; but a strong sense of the danger he should incur by his return to the metropolis, led him to reject their solicitations, with more firmness than was consistent with the general pliability of his disposition. The Queen being equally apprehensive—and how far her apprehensions were founded in justice, the subsequent events have too fatally proved—Lewis persisted in his resolution of proceeding to Montmidy; declaring, at the same time, that he had not the smallest intention of leaving the kingdom.

During this time, a great number of the National Guards had assembled; and as the Hussars endeavoured to approach the house where the King was, they were told by the persons within, that if they persisted in their resolution of taking him from them, they, at least, should not have him *alive*. These *consistent* patriots thus evinced a determination of preventing their Sovereign—even by the commission of *murder*—from exercising a privilege, the deprivation of which the meanest individual among them would have regarded as an act of insupportable tyranny. If it be urged, that the exertion of that privilege, in the present instance, might have been productive of great public inconvenience; I must ask, whether the master of a post-house, a country attorney, and an officer of militia, were competent to decide on the probability of such an event? If on *such* grounds invasions of privilege and violations of law may be tolerated, freedom must stand on a very sandy basis, since the most despotic exertions of power may be easily justified.

The

The commander of the National Guards, encouraged by the small number of the enemy, after removing the cannon to such a situation as placed the Hussars between two fires, boldly summoned them to dismount. M. Jouglas, who commanded the detachment, refused to obey this peremptory order; observing, that he and his troop would guard the King: but he was told by the other, that the National Guards would take that office upon themselves, and that they wanted no assistance. Finding his orders and threats alike disregarded, this officer of militia commanded his men to prepare for action: a short skirmish ensued between him and M. Jouglas, during which the Hussars remained wholly inactive, and at last suffered themselves to be disarmed. "The King," said Drouet, in his account to the National Assembly, "was then *made a prisoner*."

All the opposition which the King could now make, was of little avail: his orders were disregarded, his prayers rejected, and his solicitations treated with contempt: the cup of persecution was filled to the brim, and he was destined to drink, till it was dry. The arrival of an aid-du-camp to the Marquis de la Fayette accelerated his departure. The carriages were guarded by a numerous escort of National Guards; and people flocked from all quarters, to behold the novel sight of a monarch conveyed, in a state of captivity, to his capital. Soon after they left Montmidy, a detachment of the *Royal Germans* appeared on the summit of a mountain, prepared to rescue their Sovereign; but the immense numbers by which he was surrounded, deterred them from the fruitless attempt, which could only have tended, by the sacrifice of their lives, to increase the poignancy of their master's feelings.

As soon as the King was stopped at Varennes, one of the dragoons immediately left the place, and hastened with the intelligence to the Marquis

of Bouillé, who, at five o'clock, began his march to Stenay; and when he had advanced a part of the way, he made known the object of his journey to the Cavalry under his command. Having received the most positive assurances of their readiness to follow him wherever he should lead them, he distributed two hundred louis among them, and pursued his march, with a full determination to effect the rescue of his Sovereign, or perish in the attempt: but the *humanity* of Lewis prevented the completion of his purpose. Apprized of Bouillé's intention, the King dispatched a messenger, with positive orders to forbear the attempt. "I would rather submit to any hardships myself," said the worthy Monarch, "than be the cause of shedding a single drop of the blood of my subjects." Firmness, in this instance, would have tended more effectually to serve the cause of humanity, than such ill-timed forbearance: but though we may pity the want of forefight it displayed, we cannot but honour the heart whence issued such generous sentiments.

But this noble conduct, on the part of the King, was but ill requited by the treatment he experienced on the road to Paris. Every scheme which the ingenuity of malice could suggest, appears to have been adopted, for the purpose of increasing the horror of the journey. Surrounded by an almost impenetrable phalanx of National Guards, in every town through which the Royal Captives passed, the *tocfin* (fire-bell) was rung; and as the peasants thronged from all quarters to learn the cause of the alarm, they were told that the enemies of the state had set the country on fire. The passions of this misguided multitude were thus artfully inflamed; and, as their numbers continually increased, the King was justly alarmed for his personal safety. The guards, who marched on either side of the carriage, pointed their muskets towards the bosom of the Queen; who, on this trying occasion, displayed the coolness and magnanimity of a heroine: while her ears were
affailed

affailed with the most horrid oaths and imprecations, and with language the most gross, vulgar, and obscene, actuated by the true spirit of Christianity, her only reply was—“*I will pray to God to render you happy.*”

Not far from this scene of insolence and ingratitude, lived a worthy gentleman, distinguished for his loyalty, his patriotism, and honour: never was a braver soldier, nor a more affectionate husband, a more tender parent—never had the child of misfortune a more feeling patron—never had the poor a more generous benefactor—never had mankind a more steady friend than the Count of Dampierre. Hearing that his Sovereign was surrounded by a ferocious mob, he thought the presence of a loyal chevalier might afford him some small consolation. Impressed with this idea, he flew towards the King he loved: his anxiety, the sorrow depicted in his countenance, the exclamations which burst from his lips, all combined to betray his tenderness for the object he revered. In the opinion of the National Guards, no punishment was too severe for a crime of such magnitude: immediately the fatal word—the word of proscription—*Aristocrat!* was pronounced by a thousand voices; twenty musquets were discharged in an instant, and as many bayonets plunged into the body of this unfortunate victim of loyalty; while his clothes were torn into a thousand pieces, and as many wretches were disputing for them, with as much eagerness as if the scarf of Bayard had been the object of their contestation. As the Count fell, Lewis the Sixteenth was heard to exclaim—“This is the greatest misfortune I have yet experienced!” One of the assassins had the assurance to carry his cross of Saint Lewis to the Mayor of Paris, who coolly referred him to the *Committee of Researches*, at the National Assembly; where he preferred his claim to *reward* for the murder he had committed.

On the evening of the twenty-fifth of June, the Royal Family reached Paris, and were conducted to their apartments in the Tuilleries. The
most

most peremptory orders had been previously issued, that no mark of respect whatever should be paid to the King; and so strictly were these orders enforced, that a member of the National Assembly had nearly been massacred for refusing to keep his hat on his head while his Sovereign passed through the gardens of the Tuilleries.

The King's body guard was disbanded, immediately after his return, by an order of the National Assembly, and another guard placed at the palace, to watch his motions, but not to be subject to his commands. On the twenty-sixth, three Commissioners, chosen by the Assembly, waited on the King, in order to learn from himself the particulars of his escape.

After observing, that he had no intention of submitting to interrogatories, though willing to gratify the wishes of the National Assembly, Lewis repeated the substance of the Memorial he had drawn up previous to his evasion from Paris. While he protested that he should never be afraid to make the public acquainted with the motives of his conduct, he assigned, as the cause of his departure, the threats denounced, and outrages committed, against his family and person, on the eighteenth of April preceding, when a popular commotion had taken place in the capital: the subsequent publication of inflammatory libels, which, though calculated to produce a renewal of the same violent scenes, were suffered to pass with impunity, he mentioned, as an additional reason for believing that his further stay in Paris would neither be consistent with propriety, nor compatible with his personal safety.

He renewed his declaration, that he had never any intention of quitting the kingdom, meaning only to retire to Montmidy; the strength of whose fortifications would afford him protection, while its vicinity to the frontiers would have facilitated the means of opposing any invasion that might have been

been projected by the enemies of France. In proof of this assertion, he cited the smallness of the sum he had provided for his expences, not amounting, in the whole, to three thousand pounds sterling, more than two thirds of which consisted of assignats.

He observed, that he had made no other pretext than what was contained in his Memorial, which did not attack the *principles* of the constitution, but the *form* only. The observations he had occasion to make during his journey, had convinced him, that the public opinion was decidedly in favour of the constitution, a fact which he did not believe it possible to establish from the conduct of the Parisians alone. Convinced of the necessity of giving force to the established powers, he no sooner became acquainted with the general will, than he made, without hesitation, those sacrifices which the welfare of the people—the invariable object of his wishes—required of him: and he expressed his willingness to consign to oblivion all past injuries and insults, in order to secure the peace and tranquillity of the nation.

On quitting the King's cabinet, the Commissioners repaired to the Queen's apartment, who confirmed the account given by her Royal Comfort. She declared, that the King having adopted the resolution of leaving Paris with his children, nothing in nature could have deterred her from accompanying him; and she appealed to her conduct for the two preceding years, as affording a sufficient proof, that no earthly consideration could induce her to quit him: she was further confirmed in her determination to follow her husband, from her confidence and persuasion, that he would never leave the kingdom; and had he even been inclined so to do, all her influence would have been exerted to prevent him. She protested, that none of the attendants had been apprized of their intentions, or were acquainted with the object of their journey, or the place of their destination.

While

While the Assembly were employed in deliberation on the measures necessary to be adopted on the present occasion, the King, anxious to remove all doubts that might subsist with regard to the sincerity of his declaration, sent a letter to the President, in which he observed, that having learned that several officers who had left the kingdom, had invited the soldiers of the regiments to which they formerly belonged, by circular letters, to follow their example, and join them; and that, with a view to induce them so to do, they had promised them promotion and other recompence, in virtue of authority either directly or indirectly from him; he thought it his duty to give a formal contradiction to such assertions, and to repeat, on that occasion, what he had before declared, that on leaving Paris, he had no other intention than that of repairing to Montmedy, from whence he might himself send to the National Assembly such observations as should occur to him, concerning the execution of the laws, and the administration of the kingdom. He concluded his letter by a positive declaration, that all persons who pretended to be empowered by him, in the manner above mentioned, were guilty of the most criminal impositions.

The debates on the propriety of impeaching the King for his evasion from the capital, were, as might naturally be expected, both long and animated. The question of inviolability underwent an ample discussion. Pétion, Robespierre, and some few of the leaders of that party, which has since been distinguished by the violence of its proceedings, maintained, that the doctrine of inviolability was only applicable to acts of royalty; but this metaphysical distinction was rejected by the majority of the Assembly. In the course of this discussion, some *prophetic* remarks fell, in a long and eloquent speech, from the mouth of M. Barnave: "You can no longer," said that orator to the Assembly, "without dreadful commotions, continue the agitations which have conducted you to the present point; here let us rest: you have done every thing for liberty—if the friends of the revolution
"tion

“tion wish to do *more*, they cannot do *better*: pursue the line of liberty beyond that, and the first attempt will be the *annihilation of royalty*; pursue the line of equality, the *annihilation of property* will be the consequence.”

Notwithstanding the violent exclamations of the factious within the Assembly; the still more violent resolutions of the Jacobine clubs; and the treasonable efforts of mercenary journalists, essayists, and pamphleteers; particularly—to use the words of M. Goupill, as they appear in his speech of the fifteenth of July—“of a writer of *very inferior talents*, the Sieur “*Brissot de Varville*,” the opinions of the more moderate members of the Assembly prevailed; and it was decreed—“That the exercise of the royal functions, and those of the executive power, vested in the King, should continue suspended until the constitutional act, in its state of perfection, be presented to his Majesty.”

It appearing necessary to the Assembly to define those acts which should incur the penalty of deposition, in order that, in a matter of such high importance, as well to the safety of the Sovereign as to the welfare of the nation, the law should be fixed and certain, the following decrees were, on the motion of M. Demeunier, passed on the sixteenth of July 1790.

- I. If a King retract his oath after having sworn to maintain the constitution, he shall be supposed to have abdicated the throne.
- II. If the King lead an army against the nation himself, or command his generals to lead one; or, finally, if he do not oppose every similar attempt that shall be undertaken in his name, by a formal act; he shall be supposed to have abdicated the throne.
- III. A King having abdicated, or supposed to have done so, shall become a private citizen, and be impeachable, according to the common forms, for every crime committed *after his abdication*.

It had before been decreed, that if the King should leave the kingdom, and refuse, on being summoned by the National Assembly, to return, he should be deemed to have forfeited the throne. This important point was thus finally settled: the crime was defined, the punishment fixed, and nothing left open to doubt or discussion.

While this business was pending, the voice of faction was busily employed in seeking to overturn that constitution which every class of people had sworn to maintain. Numerous addresses, of a most treasonable tendency, were presented to the National Assembly; who rejected with disdain all attempts to demolish the structure themselves had erected. One, however, of a different nature, was received from the General Council of the Commons of Rouen; who refused to separate their attachment to the Constitution from their loyalty to the King. Adverting to his evasion from Paris, they observed, that, though the people might blame his conduct, no man could impeach his person; they denounced vengeance against those who wished to subject their Sovereign to the attacks of the audacious and the wicked; and they swore to live and die under the free monarchical government which the Assembly had decreed.

An address of a similar tendency was likewise received from the National Guard of Rouen; who, "in consequence of the reports of factious endeavours to destroy monarchy, and establish republicanism on its ruins," offered themselves to support the established form of government. They professed their determination to resist any attempt at innovation; swearing to exert their utmost efforts in defence of the monarchy, and to turn the arms that had been entrusted to their care against all who should dare to assail a King, whose reign, they said, was founded on the constitution.

Lewis, deprived of all power, alike unable to do good or harm, passed the interval between his return to Paris and his acceptance of the constitution

tion in tranquil inactivity. On the first of September, the constitutional code having been declared complete, the mode of presenting it for the acceptance of his Majesty, became the subject of discussion with the Assembly. M. Beaumetz expatiated on the generosity of the King, who had invited them to the establishment of a free constitution; and who deserved, he said, a generous return of confidence from the people: he expressed a hope, that the Assembly would take the necessary steps for securing the dignity and independence of the Crown, with which the interests of the people were so intimately connected; and he trusted they would convince all Europe, that his Majesty's acceptance of the constitution was perfectly free, by leaving to the King himself the sole controul of the precautions which he might think necessary for ensuring the freedom of his acceptance. In conformity to these suggestions, it was decreed, That a deputation should be appointed to present the constitutional act to the King; that the King should be requested to give such orders as he might think necessary for the safeguard and dignity of his person; that if the King should comply with the wishes of the French nation, by accepting the constitutional act, he should be requested to fix a day, and to regulate the forms, according to which he should solemnly pronounce, in presence of the National Assembly, his acceptance of the constitutional royalty, and his engagement to fulfil its functions.

Sixty members having been appointed, as a deputation, to wait on the King, they accordingly repaired to the Palace, on the third of September 1790; when Thouret thus addressed his Sovereign—"The Representatives of the Nation present to your Majesty the constitutional code, which
"consecrates the imprescriptible rights of the French people, which re-
"stores to the throne its true dignity, and which organizes the true go-
"vernment of the empire." To this the King replied—"I receive the
"constitution presented to me by the National Assembly. I will commu-

“ nicate my resolution to the National Assembly as soon as I shall have examined it with the attention an object so important requires. *I am determined to remain in Paris.* I will give orders to the Commandant-General of the National Parisian guard, respecting the guard for my person.”

Ten days after the constitution had been presented to the King, Lewis signified his acceptance by a letter addressed to the National Assembly. In this letter he declared, that, after an attentive examination of the constitutional act, he accepted it, and would enforce its observance. At any other time, he observed, such a declaration would have sufficed; but, at such a conjuncture as the present, he owed to the interests of the nation, he owed to himself, an explanation of his motives.

He had always, he averred, since the commencement of his reign, desired the reform of abuses, and in all acts of government had wished to be regulated by the public opinion. Different causes, among which might be placed the state of the revenue at the period of his accession to the throne, and the immense expences of an *honourable* war, long supported without any augmentation of imposts, had occasioned a considerable disproportion between the receipts and expences of the state.

Impressed with a just sense of the extent of this evil, he not only sought the means of remedying it, but felt the necessity of preventing its return. Having formed a project for securing the happiness of the people on a solid foundation, and of subjecting to fixed and invariable rules that power of which he was the depositary, he called on the nation to put it in execution.

In the course of the events of the revolution, his intentions never varied. When, after reforming the ancient institutions, the Assembly began to substitute

stitute in their stead the first essays of their work, he did not delay the expression of his sentiments till such time as the whole constitution was made known to him, he favoured the establishment of its parts, even before he could judge of the whole; and though the disorders which had marked almost every period of the revolution had too frequently afflicted his heart, he encouraged the hope that the law would resume its force under the sanction of the newly-established authority; and that, as the Assembly approached the term of their labours, it would daily recover that respect, without which the people could neither enjoy liberty nor happiness: that hope he had long cherished, nor did his resolution change until the very moment that it forsook him. He conjured every one to recollect the situation of affairs at the time when he left Paris: the constitution was nearly complete, and yet the authority of the laws seemed daily to diminish; while opinion, far from concentrating in any one point, was divided into an indefinite number of parts. The most violent counsels seemed alone to be received with any degree of favour; the licentiousness of the press was at its height; and no power was respected.

He could no longer perceive the expression of the general will in the laws, which every where appeared without force, and without effect. At that period, he declared, had the constitution been presented to him, he should have been of opinion, that the interests of the people—the constant and uniform rule of his conduct—would not permit him to accept it. He entertained only one sentiment; he formed only one project; he was anxious to retire to a proper distance from all parties, and to learn what was the real wish of the nation.

The motives by which he was at that time influenced, then no longer subsisted; since the period of his evasion, the inconveniencies and the evils of which he complained, had, he observed, stricken the Assembly in the
same.

same light as himself; they had evinced an inclination for the re-establishment of order; they had directed their attention to the restoration of military discipline; and they had acknowledged the necessity of restraining the licentiousness of the press. The revision of their labours had placed among the laws of *regulation* several articles which had before been presented to him as *constitutional*; they had established legal forms for the revision of those which they had placed in the constitutional code. In short, he declared, the sentiments of the people no longer appeared doubtful to him; he had seen them fully displayed, as well by their adherence to the work of their representatives, as by their attachment to the support of monarchical government.

Impelled by these motives, he declared his acceptance of the constitution, which he engaged to maintain at home, to defend against attacks from abroad, and to enforce the execution of by all the means with which it supplied him.

He declared, that, informed of the adherence of the great body of the people to the constitution, he renounced the right of concurrence which he had formerly claimed in its formation; observing, that as he was only responsible to the nation, his renunciation could afford no grounds for complaint to any one.

He should, however, deviate from the truth, he said, were he to affirm that, in the means of execution and administration, he perceived all the energy necessary to give motion to and preserve unity in the various parts of so vast an empire as that of France; but since the opinions of men were divided on the subject, he was willing to submit the decision to the test of experience. While he faithfully exerted all the means with which he was entrusted, he could incur no reproach; and the nation, whose interest alone
ought

ought to constitute the supreme law, would have recourse to that mode of explanation which the constitution pointed out.

But, for the stability of that constitution, for the security of freedom, for the individual happiness of all Frenchmen, Lewis justly remarked, there were interests, for the preservation whereof their duty prescribed a combination of all their efforts: those interests were—Respect for the laws, the restoration of order, and the re-union of all the citizens of the empire. Now that the constitution was definitively settled, Frenchmen living under the same laws, ought to acknowledge no enemies but such as infringed those laws. Discord and anarchy were, he said, the common enemies of them all.

Such enemies his power should be exerted to oppose; but it was necessary, he observed, that the Assembly, and their successors, should second his efforts with energy and effect; that law, without seeking to establish an arbitrary sway over the *mind*, should afford equal protection to all who made it the rule of their conduct; that such as the fear of persecution, and the dread of anarchy, had driven from their country, should be assured of finding, at their return, both safety and peace; and, in order to extinguish the animosities, to soften the evils attendant on a great revolution, and to enforce an immediate execution of the laws, he exhorted the Assembly to consent to an oblivion of the past, and to bury, in a general reconciliation, all those charges and prosecutions to which the revolution had given rise. He spoke not, he said, of those whose actions had solely been influenced by their attachment to him; for who could regard them as criminals?—As to such as by excesses, productive of personal injury, had incurred the severity of the laws, he should prove, by his conduct to them, that he was King of *all* the French.

The

The King concluded his letter by expressing his sense of the propriety of accepting the constitution in the place in which it was formed; and his consequent determination of repairing to the Assembly on the following day.

This letter was received with unbounded demonstrations of joy; and the Assembly continued, for some minutes, to resound with reiterated acclamations of *Vive le Roi!* which were repeated by the populace without, and were speedily communicated to the farthest extremity of the capital.

The King's recommendation of a general amnesty was strongly enforced by La Fayette; and a preparatory decree being instantly adopted, a deputation was sent with it to the palace, who also received orders to explain to his Majesty the sentiments of joy which his letter had excited in the National Assembly. To this message the King replied, with equal firmness and sensibility, that he should make it his pleasure and his duty, to comply with the will of the nation, whenever it should be made known to him. He expressed his sense of the alacrity displayed by the Assembly in complying with his desire to achieve an act of benevolence; observed, that that day would be memorable in history; and intimated a wish, that it might put an end to the prevalence of discord, and effect an union of all parties.

Adverting to a decree just passed by the Assembly, conferring the honour of wearing a blue ribbon to himself and his son, Lewis desired the Assembly might be apprized of his resolution not to avail himself of that privilege, of which the only value, in his eyes, consisted in the ability to communicate it to others.

On the fourteenth of September, Lewis went to the Assembly, and having ascended a platform, on which were placed two chairs, one for the King and the other for the President, delivered the following speech:

“ Gentlemen,

“ Gentlemen,

“ I come solemnly to consecrate, in this place, my acceptance of the
 “ constitutional act; in consequence of which I swear to be faithful to the
 “ nation and the law, and to employ all the power that is delegated to
 “ me, for the maintenance of the constitution decreed by the Constituent
 “ National Assembly. May this great and memorable epoch be that of
 “ the restoration of peace and union! and may it become the surety of
 “ the happiness of the people, and the prosperity of the empire!”

The King, who stood when he began to speak, experienced a momentary embarrassment from the conduct of the president, and many of the members, who seated themselves in the midst of his speech (from a ridiculous supposition, that respect for their superiors was incompatible with freedom); but soon recovering himself, he followed their example, and betrayed no alteration either in his tone of voice, or mode of delivery.

Lewis having signed the constitutional act presented to him by the minister of justice, the president, *Touret*, a Norman advocate, throwing one of his legs over the other, with an air of indecent familiarity, that bespoke a littleness of mind and vulgarity of manners, and was peculiarly ill-suited to the occasion, thus addressed his Sovereign:

“ France was oppressed by abuses of long-standing, which had triumphed
 “ over the good intentions of *the best of Kings*, and had incessantly braved
 “ *the authority of the Throne*. The National Assembly, depository of the
 “ wishes, of the rights, and of the power of the people, has established, by
 “ the destruction of *all* abuses, the solid basis of public prosperity. Sire,
 “ what this Assembly has decreed, the national *concurrence* has ratified.
 “ The most complete execution of its decrees, in all parts of the empire,
 “ attests the general sentiment; and while it deranges the weak plans of

D

“ those

“ those whom discontent has too long kept blind to their own interests, it
“ affords an assurance that your Majesty’s wishes for the welfare of the
“ French will no longer be vain.

“ The National Assembly has nothing left to desire on this ever-memo-
“ rable day, in which you complete, in its bosom, by an engagement
“ the most solemn, your acceptance of constitutional royalty. It is the
“ attachment of the French, it is their confidence, which confers on you
“ that pure and respectable title, *the most desirable crown in the universe*;
“ a crown secured to you, Sire, by the *imperishable* authority of a consti-
“ tution freely decreed;—by the invincible strength of a people who
“ feel themselves worthy of liberty;—and by the necessity for an hereditary
“ monarchy, which must ever exist in a kingdom of such extent.

“ While your Majesty, waiting from experience for the lights about to
“ be spread by the practical result of the constitution, promises to maintain it
“ at home, and defend it against attacks from abroad, the nation, confiding
“ in the justice of its rights, and the consciousness of its strength and
“ courage, as well as in your loyal co-operation, can entertain no dread
“ of alarms from without, and will contribute, by its tranquil confidence,
“ to the speedy success of its internal government.

“ The epoch of this regeneration—which will appear with lustre in our
“ history—ought to be great in your eyes, Sire, and dear to our hearts; since
“ it gives to France, citizens—to the French, a country—to you, as King,
“ a new title of greatness and of glory; and, as a man, a fresh source of
“ enjoyment, and new sensations of happiness.”

As soon as the president had finished his speech, the King returned to the
palace, accompanied by all the members of the Assembly; and the joy of
the

the Parisians, on his acceptance of the constitution, was testified by a general illumination.

The National Assembly, having prescribed the form of the oath to be taken by military men—who were required to swear that they would be faithful to the Nation, the Law, and the *King*, and would *maintain the Constitution* with all their power; having drawn up, and passed, the decree for enforcing a general amnesty, and stopping all state prosecutions; and having adopted various other regulations of inferior importance, at length fixed the day for its final separation. Accordingly, on the thirtieth of September, the King visited this Assembly for the last time: he was attended by his Ministers; and, on entering the hall, was received with the loudest acclamations; as soon as these had subsided, he thus addressed the Assembly:

“ Gentlemen,

“ You have terminated your labours, and the constitution is complete.
“ I have promised to maintain it; to enforce its execution;—it is already
“ proclaimed by my orders. This constitution, whence France expects to
“ derive prosperity, this fruit of your cares and your vigilance, will con-
“ stitute your best reward: France, rendered happy by your labours, will
“ communicate her happiness to you.

“ Return to your homes, and tell your fellow-citizens, that the happiness
“ of the French ever has been, and ever will be, the object of my wishes;
“ that I neither have, nor can have, any interest but the general interest;
“ that my prosperity only consists in the public prosperity; that I shall
“ exert all the powers with which I am entrusted to give efficacy to the
“ new system, which I shall communicate to foreign courts, and shall, in
“ every thing, prove that I can only be happy when the people are so.

D 2

“ Tell

“ Tell them, also, that the revolution has attained its period ; and that
“ the restoration of order will now be the firmest support of the constitu-
“ tion. You, Gentlemen, in your several departments, will, undoubtedly,
“ second my vigilance and care, to the utmost of your power ; you will
“ set the first example to the laws which yourselves have framed : In the
“ capacity of private citizens, you will display the same character which
“ you have supported as public men ; and the people, seeing their legis-
“ lators exercise in private life those virtues which they have proclaimed
“ in the National Assembly, will be induced to imitate them ; they will
“ discharge with pleasure the obligations imposed on them by the public
“ interest, and cheerfully pay the taxes decreed by their representatives.
“ This happy union of sentiments, of wishes, and exertions, is requisite to
“ confirm the constitution, and to secure to the nation all the advantages
“ which it guarantees.”

The King was frequently interrupted, in the course of his speech, by loud bursts of applause from all parts of the hall ; and after the president had replied, by repeating the sentiments he uttered on a former occasion, and almost in the same words, his Majesty retired, amidst the shouts of the people. The Assembly, then, exercising one of the extraordinary powers it had arrogated to itself, pronounced its own dissolution.

The demonstrations of joy exhibited in various parts of the kingdom, on the completion of the constitution, seemed to give the most flattering assurances of its stability ; while the power of the King, defined though circumscribed, fixed though curtailed, deluded that unhappy Prince with the hopes of enjoying that tranquillity, which had too long been a stranger to his bosom. Nor could the enjoyment of repose be, surely, deemed a reward too great for the sacrifice of personal honours and immunities, which
the

the *nation* and the *laws*—the prescription of centuries—had proclaimed as *hereditary rights*.

When the limits of regal authority are ascertained by law, and specific penalties are annexed to its transgression; when the constitution of a state is finally settled, and subjects are bound, by an oath, to protect and maintain it, an effectual preventive appears to be established against the confusion which originates in *doubt*, and the disorders that spring from a fatal division between a sovereign and his people. But whether from any defect in its foundation, any want of uniformity in the structure, or of proportion in its parts, or from any other cause, not so immediately connected therewith, most certain it is, the new constitution of France failed, most completely, to produce these salutary effects.

The door was opened to Anarchy; the torch of Discord was lighted; and the rage of the discontented, though lulled into a temporary calm, far from being satiated by the attainment of that which had hitherto seemed to be the ultimate object of their desires, soon appeared to have derived fresh vigour from gratification. Past successes operated as an encouragement to future attempts: the power that had gone thus far, might, it was conceived, go still farther;—and the conduct of the disaffected too plainly demonstrated, that moderation must not be expected to mark the exertions of authority, which principle cannot restrain. The *sovereignty of the people* became the theme of all public harangues, the perpetual topic of *patriotic* declamation. The imposition of restraints upon that authority was deemed, by the orators of the *Jacobins*, who now endeavoured to assume the reins of legislation, high-treason against *the majesty of the mob*.

Condorcet, the intrepid champion of *republicanism*, had, previous to the King's acceptance of the constitution, studiously endeavoured to disseminate

nate his principles throughout the capital. He had frequently denied the necessity of a *regal* institution in a state, for the preservation of freedom; and had even maintained, that the *extent* of the kingdom of France—so generally adduced as an argument in support of *monarchy*—was rather favourable than hostile to the establishment of a *republican* form of government. He mentioned the privileged classes that existed in Rome and Athens, as affording perpetual grounds for intestine divisions; exhibiting, in his opinion, a monstrous government, neither republican nor national; an absurd system, as fatal to the people who obey, as dangerous to those who command.

Two of his observations are peculiarly worthy of notice, inasmuch as they tend to throw a light on the conduct of the principal agents and *instruments* of the revolution. The point upon which he most strongly insisted, and which he betrayed the greatest anxiety to enforce, was this: that by the destruction of all privileges, and all *perpetual bodies*, the friends of *liberty* had actually destroyed every thing that could render the protection of a monarch useful to a great people; and those, he said, who had affirmed, that the correction of so many abuses had *annihilated the monarchy*, had advanced a *truth* more serious and confirmed than they themselves had believed it to be.

In his strictures on an hereditary monarchy, he observed, that it was the existence of an hereditary chief that deprived the executive power of all that strength which constituted its utility, by exciting an *eternal distrust* in all the friends to freedom, “*who are incessantly occupied in throwing obstacles in his way, and in raising up impediments the most prejudicial and formidable.*”—The propagation of these principles, so hostile to the constitution which the people had sworn to maintain, was still continued, though rather more caution was used than before the dissolution of the first National Assembly,

Assembly, until the party had acquired sufficient strength to venture upon an open avowal of their principles.

The King, it must be acknowledged, was, in one point of view, placed in a situation the most critical : the cause of the illustrious emigrants, to whom he was bound by ties of blood and of *gratitude*, could not be indifferent to him ; yet his acceptance of the constitution had imposed on him the necessity of exerting the most rigorous measures for repelling their attempts and defeating their plans. In short, his situation was such as required a perpetual struggle between feeling and duty ; and—to the honour of Lewis be it spoken !—the latter invariably proved triumphant. Though every art was exerted that ingenuity could devise, or malice suggest, to irritate his mind, and betray him into error, he steadily pursued the same line of conduct, and adhered with religious scrupulosity to the oath he had taken.

His speech, at the first meeting of the new Assembly, in October, 1791, contained the most salutary admonitions and the most judicious remarks. He reminded the Assembly, that it was their duty to facilitate the operations of government ; to strengthen and confirm public credit ; to give additional security to the national engagements ; to shew that liberty and peace were compatible ; and, finally, to attach the people to their new laws, by convincing them that those laws were calculated to promote their welfare and happiness.

He exhorted them to profit by their experience of the effects of the new order of things, in their various departments, in order to remedy any defects they might discover, and to adopt the necessary measures for giving energy and effect to the government.

He

He pointed out the propriety of fixing their immediate attention on the state of the finances, and the importance of establishing an equilibrium between the receipt and the expenditure; of accelerating the assessment and collection of taxes; of introducing an invariable order into the different parts of the administration, and thereby providing, at once, for the support of the state, and the relief of the people.

He urged them to make the civil laws conformable to the principles of the constitution, to simplify the mode of proceeding in courts of law, and to render the attainment of justice more easy and prompt.—He exhorted them to encourage commerce and industry, as the means of promoting the interests of agriculture, and the wealth of the kingdom; and to make such permanent dispositions as would afford work and relief to the indigent.

He expressed his determination to re-establish order and discipline among the troops; to restore confidence to the army, and to place it on such a footing as would render it adequate to the purposes for which it was destined. He explained the measures he had taken for securing the kingdom from attack, the efforts he had exerted for ensuring the continuance of peace, and the preparations he had made for meeting the exigencies of war.

He represented, in terms energetic and convincing, the necessity of constant harmony and unalterable confidence between the legislative body and the King; and observed, that the love of their country, and their concern for the public welfare, by rendering them inseparable, would tend to frustrate the efforts of their enemies, which were industriously employed to promote their disunion. By this means alone, he contended, would the public force be exerted without obstruction; the administration be exempted from those

those vain alarms by which it had been so harassed; the property and religion of every man be equally protected; and no pretence be left to any Frenchman for remaining any longer absent from a country where the laws were in vigour, and the rights of men respected.

But though this speech was received with repeated bursts of applause, the King neither experienced from the Assembly that respect which was due to his station, nor that confidence which his conduct deserved. His orders were frequently treated with neglect, his communications disregarded, and his choice of ministers and generals, though a privilege secured to him by the constitution, was freely censured and loudly condemned. His remonstrances, however, procured from the Emperor an explicit avowal of his intentions, and a prohibition to the French emigrants to collect, in armed bodies, in the Imperial dominions.

But the continuation of peace was by no means the wish of that party who, discontented with a monarchical government, however limited, sought to undermine the constitution, with a view to build on its ruins a republic or democracy. Their influence in the capital was, unfortunately, extensive; and their partisans in the National Assembly, if not numerous, were, at least, formidable. To lead the King into situations arduous and embarrassing, to depreciate his merits in the eyes of the people, to render him an object of suspicion and mistrust, were the efforts of this party exerted; and they wisely judged that the confusion inseparable from a state of warfare would be more favourable to the promotion of their schemes, than peace, order, and tranquillity. Hence the pacific professions of the Emperor were deemed insufficient by the *clubs*, and, *consequently*, by the Assembly; his answer to the King's notification of his acceptance of the constitution, together with those of several other Potentates, was treated with the utmost indecency by the Members of the Convention; preparations for hostilities

E

continued;

continued; one hundred and fifty thousand troops received orders to march to the frontiers; and the defensive measures adopted by the Emperor were construed into acts of hostility that called for reprisals.

During all these transactions, the King most strenuously enforced the measures approved by the representatives of the people; and, were we not induced to believe that in this instance, as in so many others, he sacrificed his feelings and his judgment to his sense of duty, we should freely bestow on his conduct the censure of violence and injustice. War with the Emperor—although he had expressly disclaimed all idea of interference with the internal government of France, and had prevented all hostile attempts on the part of the emigrants—was insisted upon by *Brissot*, as the only means of maintaining the constitution; *Vergniaud* enforced the same ideas; the voice of moderation was overpowered in the tumultuous debates that ensued; and the exclamation of *War! War!* issuing from the Assembly, became the general cry of the capital.

In conformity to these sentiments a declaration of war was decreed by the Assembly, on the nineteenth of April, 1792; and, on the following day, when sent to the King, it received his immediate sanction. Lewis, in his speech to the Assembly on the occasion, expressly declared, that he adopted the decision for war, "*because it appeared to him to be the sense of the people.*"

War having been thus declared, the hands of the faction which aimed at the abolition of monarchy were strengthened; the King, anxious to conciliate the esteem he was conscious of deserving, was induced to bestow places of trust and emolument on men whose sole recommendation consisted in the protection of a party, and the occasional applause of a mob. But it was neither the wish nor the interest of the faction to suffer confidence

confidence to subsist between Lewis and his ministers, whoever those ministers might be; on the contrary, their object was to sow dissention not only between the King and his ministers, but between the King and the Assembly, and between the King and the people; and their growing influence in the Convention afforded them but too many opportunities for accomplishing their detestable plan. Brissot might well exclaim, at a subsequent period—*We made him declare war, in order to put him to the test*—He was put to the test, and submitted to the crucible of faction, whence he came out, as he went in, pure as the purest gold.

The perpetual contradictions which the ministers experienced, prevented them from retaining their places for any length of time, so that the king was continually harassed by a change of servants. True, however, to the oath he had taken, and resolved that no *arts* should induce him to swerve from his duty, the constitutional code was incessantly before his eyes; and he is said to have submitted to the painful labour of getting the whole of it by heart. He never relaxed in his preparations for conducting with vigour the war into which his enemies had plunged him; and though success did not, at first, attend his efforts, the failure must be ascribed to the misconduct of his officers, and the cowardice of his troops. But still these disasters were employed to excite the discontent of the people; and the most insidious manœuvres were used to make them regard their Sovereign as an object of indignation and mistrust.

Those who were sincerely attached to the person of their King, and anxious for the real welfare of their country, were desirous that he should quit the capital—the focus of vice and centre of rebellion—and retire, with his family, to some fortified town, within the distance prescribed by the constitutional code. They exerted all their efforts to make Lewis consent to their scheme; they dwelt with energy on the advantages that would re-

• fult from his compliance, which they represented as the only means of preventing the kingdom from being rent by contending factions, and of preserving the constitution entire. The King heard their proposals, and after deliberating on the subject, determined to adhere to the resolution he had adopted, of maintaining the constitution without leaving the metropolis.

It is probable that Petion, the mayor of Paris, had been apprized of these proposals, for, in the month of May, he admonished the commander in chief of the national guards to redouble his vigilance, as he had received information of the King's intention to quit the capital. Lewis was justly offended at this presumption in the mayor, which tended to place him in the exact situation of a prisoner, and to deprive him of a privilege which the meanest subject in his dominions was permitted to enjoy; and, indeed, the conduct of Petion affords strong grounds for believing that he was privy to the designs of that faction who were endeavouring to subvert the monarchy; for he must have known that he was acting in direct defiance of the constitution, and in a manner that could answer no other purpose than that of irritating the minds of the populace, and preparing them for deeds of violence and outrage.

The King, with a view to avert the evil effects which this proceeding was calculated to produce, immediately appealed to the municipality of Paris, in the following letter, dated the twenty-third of May:—

“ I have seen, gentlemen, a letter which the mayor wrote yesterday evening to the commander in chief of the national guards, in which he expresses his alarm respecting my departure during the night, founded, he says, upon probable information. To this intelligence he adds reports of commotions and disturbances, and gives orders to strengthen the patrols, and render them more numerous. Why does the mayor, in consequence
“ of

“ of such reports, give orders to the commander in chief, and communicate
“ nothing to me, though it be his duty, imposed on him by the constitution,
“ to execute, under my direction, the laws for maintaining the public
“ tranquillity? Has he forgotten the letter which I wrote to the Municipality
“ in the month of February?—You will perceive, gentlemen, that this re-
“ quest is, under the present circumstances, a new and horrid calumny, by
“ means of which it is intended to excite the people to violence, and to
“ fill them with alarms.

“ I am apprized of all the arts which are at present employed, to influ-
“ ence the minds of the people, and compel me to leave my capital: but
“ they shall not produce the desired effect. While France has enemies to
“ encounter, both at home and abroad, my post is in the capital. It is
“ there, I trust, I shall be able to disappoint the criminal expectations of
“ the factious.

“ I place an unreserved confidence in the citizens of Paris; in the nati-
“ onal guard, always respectable, the detachments whereof, employed on the
“ frontiers, have given fresh proofs of their excellent dispositions. They will
“ perceive, that their honour, in the present moment, requires them to re-
“ double their vigilance and zeal. Guarded by them, and relying on the
“ purity of my intentions, I shall always be at ease, whatever events may
“ occur; and, whatever attempts may be made, nothing shall alter my so-
“ licitude and vigilance for the welfare of my kingdom.”

This letter, it is probable, only tended to increase the resentment of the mayor, and to inflame the minds of the factious, for the alarm was still kept up, though not with equal success; and recourse was had to other arts for promoting the desired effect. Two decrees, one for rendering more in-
tolerable

tolerable the situation of those unfortunate ecclesiastics who had magnanimously sacrificed all the comforts of life to a conscientious discharge of their duty; by authorizing their banishment on a petition, presented by *twenty* citizens, to the directory of the district; the other for forming an encampment in the vicinity of the metropolis of twenty thousand volunteers, *meant* to be independent of the executive powers, and intended to serve as a check upon the Parisian troops who were suspected, by the Republicans, of being friendly to the King; were, through the influence of the faction, adopted by the National Assembly. These, when presented to the King for his sanction, of course received his *Veto*; and, strange as it may appear, this lawful exercise of a power, expressly vested in him by the constitution, to be used *at his discretion*, was employed as a pretext for the most violent outrages against his person and dignity.

Another circumstance combined to promote the explosion. La Fayette, who appears to have been sincerely attached to the constitution, and was doubtless enraged at the projects which he knew to be forming for the abolition of the monarchy, wrote *two* letters, one to the King, and the other to the National Assembly, in which he loudly complained of the scandalous proceedings of the Jacobin Club at Paris, expressing his wish that all the clubs in the kingdom should be annihilated, that the law should be suffered to reign in full force, and the King's prerogative to remain inviolable, agreeably to the principles of the constitution. "It is," said La Fayette, "after
" having opposed to all obstacles and all snares the courageous and persever-
" ing patriotism of an army, sacrificed, perhaps, to combinations against its
" leader, that I can now oppose to this faction the correspondence of a mi-
" nistry, the worthy produce of its club—a correspondence, of which all
" the calculations are false, the premises vain, the information fraudulent or
" frivolous, the councils perfidious and contradictory—where, after having
" pressed

“ pressed me to advance without precaution, and to attack without means,
“ they began to tell me that resistance would soon be impossible, when my
“ indignation repelled the dastardly assertion.”

These letters, as might be supposed, produced a violent tumult in the Jacobin club, which had begun to assume the privilege of dictating to the National Assembly; the members declared their sittings permanent, while their principal leaders devised means for raising the seditious populace in the suburbs of St. Anthony and Marceau, with a view to bring them in force to overawe the court, the national guard, and the municipal bodies; and, under pretence of supporting the Assembly, to silence the constitutional minority.

A deputation of the inhabitants of these districts accordingly presented themselves to the Assembly of the Commons of Paris, to announce their intention of repairing, on Wednesday, the twentieth of June, in the same dress, and with the same arms, which they wore in 1789, to the National Assembly, to offer them their *courage*, to renew the oath they had taken at Versailles, two years before, to plant the tree of liberty on the terrace of the Feuillans, in the garden of the Thuilleries, “ and then to repair to the “ King, to represent to him the horrid state into which his good friends had “ plunged the affairs of the nation.”—A violent commotion in the Assembly was the consequence of this address, which several of the members (friends to the faction) had the bare-faced effrontery to support: the advocates for order and the constitution, however, at length prevailed; the question for discountenancing the alarming tumult was carried, and the Assembly passed to the order of the day. Notice of the design was sent to the Directory, and they took various precautions to avert the effects it was calculated to produce: every citizen received orders to inscribe his name, to provide himself with arms, and to hold himself in readiness to maintain the public peace.

On

On the twentieth, the national guards and the troops of the line, supplied with artillery, were posted at every avenue which leads to the palace and to the Assembly. But neither the precautions nor preparations could deter the mob from accomplishing their design; and the National Assembly were informed, by the department of Paris, that a multitude, consisting of one hundred thousand persons of both sexes, armed with pikes, swords, and muskets, and even provided with cannon, was embodied, and actually on its march to the Thuilleries.

In a short time the mob arrived at the doors of the Assembly, who, wanting that firmness displayed by the Commons of England during the riots of 1780, allowed the rabble to enter. They marched through the hall, renewed their oath, and then repaired to the Caroussel in the front of the palace. The Thuilleries were provided with a force amply sufficient to protect it from insult, and to repel any attacks that could be made on it by an undisciplined multitude; but the employment of that force must have been attended with an effusion of blood, from which Lewis, at all times, evinced the most settled aversion. Thinking that, if bent on murder, the sacrifice of *his* life might satiate their rage, he ordered the doors of his apartment to be thrown open; rejecting the solicitations of his friends, he advanced, without his guards, towards a crowd armed with various instruments of slaughter; he resigned himself, with calmness and fortitude, to the danger which threatened him, and courageously presented himself to the very face of an infatuated people.

The mob were in possession of the palace till late in the evening, during which time the King displayed the most heroic resolution, although cannon were planted in the very antichamber of the royal apartments, and rage and violence were expressed in the countenances of many. To the torrents of abuse that burst from the lips of the mob, he opposed patience and

and resignation: and to the repeated threats against his person, his only reply was—" *Alas! could my life secure the good of my country, with what joy would I offer it as a sacrifice!*"

The Mayor of Paris had taken care to be absent during the greater part of these disgraceful scenes. He, at length, arrived, and exhorted the mob to preserve *moderation*: when he assured the King that he had nothing to fear, the Monarch justly observed—" *The man who has a clear conscience fears nothing;*" then taking the hand of a soldier who stood near him, he applied it to his breast, and said—" *There, friend, feel my heart, and say whether it beats quicker than usual?*"

In compliance with the insolent requisitions of the rabble, he put on the cap of liberty—the same sanguinary badge of faction, which Marcel, of seditious memory, erst presented to the Dauphin. When some faithful citizens expressed a wish to remain near the person of their Sovereign, and to serve him as a protecting shield, " *Repair,*" said he, " *immediately to the Queen! Go! and place yourselves by HER side.*"—This dear object of his attention took an exclusive hold upon his mind, and the emotion which feelings so natural, so honourable to himself, had occasioned, was the only dread of which, in the midst of his peril, the smallest symptom could be discerned.

Equal resolution was displayed, on this trying occasion, by the Princess Elizabeth, the affectionate sister and the constant friend of the unhappy Monarch, whom she would not abandon but with life. She remained close by the side of her brother, in the hour of danger, when exposed to the insults and outrage of the mob! She was remarked mixing herself, during several hours, with the horrid band of armed miscreants! She was even perceived to enjoy, with

F

feelings

feelings that bespoke the heart of a Christian heroine, the mistake of the multitude, who, for a time, conceived *her* to be the Queen, and whose wild countenances seemed to indicate that they sought after the latter to sacrifice her as a victim to their fury. It was at this moment that the Princess hoped to satiate their blind rage by presenting herself before them, with the most exalted magnanimity, as a blood-offering. "Ah! doubtless, Heaven, in which alone she confided; Heaven, the witness of the virtues of her life, took care that she should receive her merited reward; and the powers of earth could not prevail against her."—This was a day of infamy to the Parisians; but a day of glory to the house of Bourbon!

The King's resolute conduct had given to this insurrection a different turn from that which the faction had designed it should take; far from overturning the tottering throne, it seemed to have given it additional stability; all rational and moderate men reprobated the indignity offered to their Sovereign, and conceived the most violent indignation against the projectors of a plan evidently formed with a view to subvert the constitution. In short, at this period, Lewis may be said to have truly reigned; though, unhappily, his reign proved of short duration!

As soon as the news of this insurrection reached the frontiers of the kingdom, La Fayette repaired to the metropolis to express the discontent of his troops. At the bar of the National Assembly he presented himself, in the name of his army, to demand of the legislative body the support of the constitution, and the punishment of those who had dared to violate it. This, indeed, was to request the Assembly to inflict a punishment on themselves, since they had not only passively acquiesced in the violation, but had actually sanctioned it by admitting the insurgents into their hall: La Fayette, therefore, was expected, by all parties, to adopt some decisive measure, in support

support of his requisition; but finding his friends less powerful than he imagined, and his popularity on the wane, he deemed it expedient to quit the capital, and return to the army.

But previous to his departure, an attempt was made by the friends of the constitution, at whose instigation he had repaired to Paris, to profit by his presence. They maintained that the face of affairs was now changed, since the constitution had been violated in the person of the King; and they hoped to persuade Lewis that the insults he had sustained effectually annulled the engagements he had contracted. With this view they represented to the ministry that the formidable epoch of the fourteenth of July was approaching; and that it was time to determine his Majesty to exert his constitutional rights. Their intention was to propose to the King to leave Paris, with his whole family, not in a clandestine manner, but by openly apprizing the Assembly, that he meant to establish his residence at Compiègne; which would not prevent him from preserving a communication with them, since he should only make use of the privilege, accorded him by the constitutional code, of residing within twenty leagues of the legislative body. It was intended that the letter to the Assembly should be delivered at the moment of his Majesty's departure, and any obstruction raised, by the Assembly, to this constitutional exertion of his rights, would have justified the opposition of the troops to the efforts of the Parisian populace. The review of a legion of the national guards, supposed to be attached to the king, was appointed for a particular day, in order to sound their dispositions, and to communicate the plan to them; but Petion, being apprized of their intention, found means to prevent the review from taking place.

The conduct of that magistrate, on the twentieth of June, whose peculiar province it was to maintain order in the metropolis, to prevent all tu-

multuous meetings, and to enforce, by all possible means, the preservation of tranquillity, had excited the indignation of all honest men; and the department of Paris had, very properly, suspended him from his office. The King, who, according to the terms of the constitution, was to annul or approve the decision of the department, actuated by motives of delicacy, at first, declined pronouncing in a cause in which he was a party concerned; but the Assembly, glorying in his embarrassment, and anxious to take advantage of his judgment, obliged him to pronounce sentence. Lewis accordingly decided in conformity with the dictates of honour and justice, and confirmed the suspension of Petion and his colleague, Manuel. But the *seasonable* publication of a memorial, by the artful mayor, in which he professed his determination never to cause the blood of the people to flow, which was by some construed into an avowal of his intention to make no resistance to any popular outrage that might be committed, giving strength to the faction that espoused his cause, soon produced a decree of the Assembly, which restored him to office—His resentment, however, against his Sovereign was, doubtless, increased by this circumstance.

On the fifth of July, the King apprised the Assembly of his intention to celebrate the approaching anniversary of the Confederation; and expressed his hopes that this festival would more strongly cement all good patriots in their country's cause, and disappoint the attempts of the factious. On the seventh, the Assembly, actuated by a sudden impulse of enthusiasm, which unfortunately produced no lasting impression, unanimously declared their detestation of a Republican form of government, and their determination to maintain the constitution. A deputation was immediately appointed to convey the pleasing intelligence to the King, who received it with the most heart-felt satisfaction; he flattered himself that the lowering clouds of faction were, at length, dispelled, and that the restoration of internal tranquillity would

would secure to him the unrestrained exercise of his *lawful* authority. Impressed with these ideas, he hastened to the Assembly, and, placing himself at the side of the president, thus addressed the members :

“ Gentlemen,

“ No spectacle can be more affecting to me than that general re-union of
“ opinion and sentiment which has now taken place. This re-union has
“ long been the object of my ardent wishes, which are at last fulfilled. The
“ Nation and the King are but one. The constitution will now become
“ the point of union, around which all Frenchmen will assemble, for the
“ purpose of protecting it from insult or violation ; and the King will ever
“ be the first to set them the example.”

The applause with which this speech was received, had such an effect on the King, that the violence of his feelings almost impeded the power of utterance : In a tone which indicated the utmost emotion, he exclaimed—
“ The pleasure which I feel is delicious !” He was then conducted to the palace, accompanied by a deputation ; and the Assembly broke up, amidst the exclamations of “ Long live the Nation, Freedom, and the King !”

Transient was the calm as the delusive gleams of sunshine that precede a summer's storm. The fourteenth of July, the day of the Federation, was almost the last of the Monarch's tranquillity. The cries of faction, of “ *Long live Petion !*” were then overpowered by the louder and more numerous exclamations of “ *Long live the King !*” Royalty triumphed for the last time ; and if Lewis would have acceded to the proposals that had been made him, a sufficient number of troops, on whose fidelity he could rely, were then ready to brave any dangers, in order to favour his departure from the capital.

The

The King's steady rejection of all the plans which had hitherto been proposed to him, did not deter another party, who were attached to monarchy, from attempting to procure his consent to a scheme they had formed for securing him an asylum in Normandy. That province had invariably displayed a settled attachment to the person of its sovereigns; its inhabitants, devoted to the peaceful occupations of agriculture and commerce, felt the necessity of that repose which the threatened abolition of monarchy seemed peculiarly calculated to destroy; and its capital, amidst the distractions which convulsed the state, and pervaded almost every part of the kingdom, had contrived to maintain a tolerable share of order and tranquillity. The members of the different departments of the province were known friends to royalty; Rouen was provided with a faithful garrison, under the conduct of the Duke of Liancourt; a considerable train of artillery had been sent thither from Paris and Havre; and a house was hired, at a rent which justified the suspicion that it was destined for the residence of some person of distinction.

All necessary preparations for his departure and reception having been made, the plan was communicated to the King on the fifth of August. It was proposed, that he should leave the palace of the Thuilleries in the evening, accompanied by fifteen or sixteen hundred national guards, who had promised to accompany him, and the Swiss who usually attended his person. At the extremity of the *Elysian Fields* he would have been joined by the remainder of the Swiss; near three hundred horse, being a part of his last constitutional guard; and a body of fifteen hundred gentlemen. This junction would have made his little army amount to three thousand three hundred men, who would have escorted him to Pontoise, where he would have been provided with a reinforcement of troops, and with every necessary for enabling him to pursue his journey. The bridges would have been destroyed behind him; and, in that situation, alike supported by the
department

department of the Somme and by that of Seine and Oise, the King would have had it in his power to chuse between Amiens and Rouen, between La Fayette and Duport, Liancourt and Chapelier. But no persuasions could induce him to depart from the resolution he had adopted: firm to his purpose, he refused, by quitting the metropolis, to plunge the kingdom into all the horrors of a civil war, and to resign the field of battle, without a struggle, to his inveterate enemies the Jacobins.

On the third of August, the King sent a letter to the National Assembly, respecting the manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick; although he declared at the same time, that, in *his* opinion, it did not bear sufficient marks of authenticity. He asserted, that he had been averse from the war, and had adopted that measure only in compliance with the unanimous opinion of his council, and the apparent wishes of his people; but that, since the declaration of war, he had neglected no measure that could tend to ensure its success: that his efforts would augment in proportion to the urgency of events; and that he would act in concert with the Assembly, to render the evils inseparable from war advantageous to the liberty and honour of the nation.

When it was moved, that this letter (which contained many other patriotic expressions) should be printed, which was the usual mark of respect shewn by the Assembly to all papers that met its approbation, a violent opposition ensued; many personal reflections were cast on the unfortunate Monarch: one of the members, Isnard, had the cowardly insolence to give the lye to his sovereign; and another observed, that the King had only been induced to write the letter, from his knowledge that a majority of the sections were about to address the Assembly to divest him of the crown.—The motion was negatived.

On

On the same day Petion, at the head of a deputation of the common-council of Paris, and followed by a great number of people of the different sections, appeared at the bar of the Assembly, and presented an address, which at once displayed his recollection of the mortification he had experienced from the King, and of his forgetfulness of the oath he had repeatedly taken to maintain and defend the constitution.

It began by expressions of sorrow for the necessity of accusing the chief of the executive power; and proceeded to declare, that although the people had great reason to be enraged against Lewis the Sixteenth, yet, as the appearance of anger did not become power, they would use the language of moderation. In this language of *moderation*, therefore, all the accusations preferred against the King by his enemies, previous to his acceptance of the constitution, were enumerated with affected precision, accompanied by a declaration, that all those *crimes* were obliterated, and covered by the pardon granted by the people. But the addressers observed, that they could not forbear to mention the King's ingratitude to a people who had behaved so *generously* to him. They asked, what right he had to expect they would replace him on the throne, after he had attempted to fly from France, that he might reign at *Coblentz*? Whether he had founded his expectation on his descent from a race of kings, among twenty of whom there was scarcely one tolerable? Yet the nation, they said, had forgiven all, and restored the crown to him, since which moment he had never ceased to conspire against the freedom of his country; that an army of traitors, led by his brothers, had invaded France; that, to avenge the cause of Lewis the Sixteenth, the execrable house of Austria wished to add a new page to the history of its crimes; and, adopting the horrid idea of Caligula, was anxious, at one blow, to strike off the heads of all the good citizens of France.

This *moderate* address, containing many more observations of a similar tendency, concluded by a request, that the King might be decreed to have
forfeited

forfeited the crown, and that the government might be placed in the hands of patriotic ministers, named by the people, until a National Convention should be assembled.

The address was honoured with the loudest applause from the people in the galleries of the house, whose temper it was peculiarly calculated to please, and whose approbation and support it was doubtless meant to conciliate. It must not, however, be forgotten, that of the forty-eight sections, in whose names the mayor had spoken, two and twenty thought proper to disavow their orator, and to disclaim all participation in the address.

That the minds of the people might not be suffered to cool, another address was presented to the Assembly on the following day, signed by six hundred inhabitants of the section of Mauconseil, who declared, that they had conceived the *noble* design of assuming their rights, of restoring liberty, and destroying despotism. "Too long"—said they—"has a despicable tyrant ruled over us: without troubling ourselves with enumerating his crimes, let us break this Colossus of despotism to pieces, and may the noise of his fall reach to the uttermost parts of the earth, and make every tyrant grow pale!" The address concluded with an exhortation to break the oath of fidelity which had been sworn to the King; "because," said the addressers, "perjury is a virtue when an oath leads to the commission of a crime."

The applause which compositions of this description experienced in the Assembly, tended, of course, to augment their number. On the sixth of August, a tumultuous crowd went from the Champ de Mars, with a roll of parchment, that had lain for eight days on the altar erected for the ceremony of the Federation, where it had been signed by a great number of people of the different sections, and was then brought to the door of the Assembly, as a petition, by a mob of both sexes. After some opposition,

it was ordered that twenty of them should be admitted to the bar. While this petition was read, one person carried a pole, with a red cap on it, and this inscription—“*Destruction to the persecuting power—Appeal to the people.*” The indignation of the Assembly was, however, excited by *this* daring insolence, and the inscriptions were ordered to be torn off. Though the petition was highly inflammatory, and its perusal took near an hour, it was listened to with patience; and a disposition to accede to its prayer, was evinced by many members of the Assembly.

The Assembly, notwithstanding their recent renewal of the solemn obligation they had contracted, to live and die in defence of the constitution, determined so far to comply with the prayer of the petitions they had received, as formally to deliberate on the subject of the deposition of the King, to whom they had taken an oath of fidelity; and the fatal tenth of August was appointed for the dangerous discussion. The Jacobins, however, had resolved not to trust to the tardy operations and indecisive conduct of the Assembly, for the accomplishment of their grand design: a mob, with minds inflamed, affections alienated, and hands prepared for acts of desperation, was justly deemed the proper instrument for the destruction of a throne which had withstood the shocks of fourteen centuries. “*If we cannot provoke the people to rise, by the tenth*”—said one of the most active conspirators—“*we are lost.*”

The King, who was apprized of these proceedings, had now the misfortune to find, that all the precautions he had taken for the preservation of peace and unanimity, were rendered fruitless and abortive: the system of repelling force by force, so repugnant to his inclinations, so afflicting to his heart, he was finally compelled to adopt; and, though regardless of his own personal safety, the preservation of those who were dearer to him than life, pointed out the necessity of making preparations for defending the Tuilleries in case of an attack.

The

The dreadful period was now arrived, at which friendship and loyalty were put to the severest test: death or desertion was the only alternative; either meanly to forsake their Sovereign in the hour of calamity, or nobly to die in his defence. A small but resolute band preferred the latter. Among these might be counted some of the ancient nobility, who made this last sacrifice to their principles, and whose disinterested virtue must infallibly command the respect of posterity. Some had distinguished themselves, in the first Assembly, by their efforts to improve the government of the state, and meliorate the condition of their countrymen; but who, equally averse from anarchy and despotism, were filled with a just dread of the evils which, they foresaw, must result from a total subversion of the monarchy. Some were the personal friends of the fallen Majesty of France; impelled by gratitude, affection, or duty, they crowded round the tottering standard of royalty, magnanimously resolved to perish with the government they approved, or the Monarch they loved.

The Swiss Guards, a respectable body of men, distinguished for their temperance, frugality, valour, discipline, and loyalty, had, by repeated decrees of the Assembly, obtained by the influence of the faction, been considerably reduced; and even after the projected attack on the palace was publicly known, so late, indeed, as the seventh of August, the King had been obliged to dismiss three hundred of them. The number that remained was seven hundred and thirty; and on the exertions of this small but gallant band, the strongest reliance for the defence of the palace was placed.

The number of gentlemen and others, who repaired to the Thuilleries on this melancholy occasion, is said to have exceeded one thousand; but these being deemed insufficient to oppose the efforts of the armed multitude destined to attack the palace, Maudat, the commander-general of the national guards, who was sincerely attached to the constitution, having re-

presented to the mayor the apprehensions which he entertained for the safety of the Royal Family, had obtained from that magistrate *a written order* to defend the palace with his whole force, and to repel any attack that might be made on it. A similar order was given by Maudat himself to the Baron d'Erlach, accompanied by another to strengthen the posts at the Thuilleries. The detachments of national guards, which the commander-general had ordered to the palace, upon this occasion, are stated at about two thousand four hundred men, with eleven pieces of cannon; and to these must be added the *Gendarmerie à Cheval*, a body of cavalry amounting to nine hundred and twelve.

The ninth of August was passed in tumultuous and disturbed debates in the Assembly. Vaublanc, and some other members, suspected of an attachment to their Sovereign, complained that they had been pursued, ill-treated, and exposed to the danger of assassination; and claimed the protection of the nation. As the Assembly manifested a disposition to proceed with some degree of deliberation in the decision of the great question relative to the deposition of the King, the rage of the populace was greatly excited. The mayor appeared at the bar, and alledged that he could not be answerable for the peace of the city; adding, that it was generally understood the alarm-bell would be sounded at midnight, and the palace assailed.

At eleven o'clock at night, Petion repaired to the Thuilleries, where he remained till between two and three in the morning; a circumstance of which the factious availed themselves, to favour the propagation of a report to the injury of the royal party, that he was either murdered or detained as a hostage. But the falshood of this injurious report was speedily proved by an order of the president of the National Assembly (which sat all night) for his appearance at the bar, where the mayor immediately presented himself. He was afterwards, by his own desire doubtless, put under an amicable arrest,

arrest, by his own party, at his house, being either ashamed or afraid of appearing more openly in so disgraceful a transaction.

At midnight the *tocfin* was sounded, and the drums beat to arms in every part of the city. The faction profited by this moment of confusion, to enforce a measure that appeared necessary for the accomplishment of their designs. As it was pretended that the present council of the Commune did not possess the confidence of the people, some few persons from each of the sections immediately assembled to elect a new one, which election took place without farther delay, to the exclusion of the whole municipality, *Petion*, *Manuel*, and *Danton* alone excepted. This self-elected commune took immediate possession of the Town-Hall, and proceeded to such measures as might most effectually promote the designs of the insurgents.

One of their first resolutions proved fatal to the royal party. As Maudat was known to be a determined supporter of the constitution; as it was evident that his presence would afford the strongest encouragement to the national guards to persevere in the discharge of their duty; and as the *order* which he had received from the *mayor* was an additional authority in the eyes of the troops and of the people, it was determined, by *any* means, to deprive the King of this essential support. The creation of a new municipality was not known at the palace; and, under the cover of this delusion, a message was dispatched to Maudat, requiring his attendance at the Town-Hall, under the pretence that they had something of the utmost importance to communicate to him. Maudat was, at that moment, occupied in assigning to the detachments of the national guards their different posts; and, as if suspicious of a conspiracy against his life, he hesitated to obey the order. A new message, more pressing than the former, was therefore sent; and Rœderer, justly suspected of being an accomplice in the plot, joined

joined with two other municipal officers, who were present, in persuading him to obey the commands of the civil power. He left the palace about four in the morning, and proceeded to the Town-Hall, accompanied by a single aid-de-camp.

The surprize of this officer, on entering the apartment in which the new municipality was assembled, may be more easily conceived than expressed; nor was the abrupt accusation of having projected a scheme for the massacre of the people, in the least calculated to diminish it. After a short interrogation, he was ordered to the prison of the Abbey; but, as he descended the steps, he was shot through the head with a pistol, and instantly dispatched with spears and sabres. *Santerre*, a brewer, who had recently contracted an intimacy with the proprietor of the Palais-Royal, a wretch, whose name *pollutes* the page of history, was appointed, by the same authority, to the command of the national guard, which, however, he did not immediately assume.

The Royal Family had passed the night in the most dreadful anxiety; and the children alone had retired to rest. At a quarter before eleven, a Marseillois, in his shirt, with his sabre drawn, insulted a Swiss centinel, at one of the posts at the palace, exclaiming—"Wretch, this is the last time that you will mount guard; we are going to exterminate you!" At half past five the King was requested to visit all the posts, and to encourage, by his presence, those brave men who had generously devoted themselves to the defence of his person, his family, his crown, and the constitution. In his first visit, confined to the interior parts of the palace, he was accompanied by the Queen, the royal children, the Princess de Lamballe, and some other ladies of distinction. The disposition of the troops, in this quarter, was such as seemed to justify the satisfaction expressed by his Majesty.

At

At six o' clock the King proceeded to the court-yards, attended by de Boissieu and de Menou, camp-mareschals; de Maillardor and Bâchinan, officers of the Swiss guards; de Lajeard, ancient secretary at war; de Sainte-Croix; de Briges; and the Prince de Poix. He was there saluted with the grateful acclamation of *Vive le Roi!* by the Swiss; and it was echoed by the national guards. The cannoniers, however, and the battalion of the Croix-Rouge, persisted in shouting *Vive la Nation!*

As the national guards were deprived of their commander, and, consequently, at that moment were governed by no effective authority, the example of the artillery speedily became contagious; and their unruly and indecent conduct soon evinced how little dependance was to be placed upon their fidelity.

While the King was employed in reviewing the troops, two fresh battalions entered the court-yards, mingled with pike-men, who encouraged the disaffection of the cannoniers; and as they filed off before his Majesty, had the audacity to load him with insults, and to exclaim, *Vive Petion! Vive la Nation!*

On the terrace of the palace several battalions were drawn up; among which were those of the districts of the Filles St. Thomas, and of the Petits-Pères: a party of grenadiers belonging to this troop surrounded the King, and pressed him so earnestly to go and review the body of reserve posted at the Pont-Tournant, that he suffered himself to be conducted thither, in spite of the representations of one of his attendants, who was fearful he might be suddenly attacked by the battalions, mingled with pike-men, which were stationed on the terrace, and exclaimed aloud—"Down with the *veto!* Down with the traitor!" From that moment, the hopes which had been founded on the resistance of the national guards were annihilated.

The

The King was highly satisfied with the disposition of the troops stationed at the post of the Pont-Tournant; but, on his return, he was exposed to a danger that greatly alarmed his attendants. An ill-looking fellow, who had joined his escort, seemed every moment disposed to make an attempt on his life: but the vigilance and attention of one of the national guards, who, having watched all his motions, and thought he perceived a poniard under his coat, kept close by him, and prevented the accomplishment of his design. The insulting language, and seditious shouts, by which the ears of the King were now assailed, had such an effect on one of the grenadiers, that he fainted away on his return to the palace.

The force destined for the defence of the Thuilleries was considerably diminished by the base desertion of four battalions; two of which, those of the Filles St. Thomas, and the Petits-Pères, marched out of the gate leading to the Pont-Royal, where they posted themselves with their cannon, waiting for the arrival of the Marseillois, with whom they had determined to act. The other two battalions disbanded; but a strong detachment of them left the palace, and took post in the Caroufel, with two pieces of cannon; where they stopped all the fresh battalions that were marching to the relief of the Thuilleries.

One pretext for these desertions was, the loyal disposition of the Swiss; and the dastards also endeavoured to excuse their own cowardice and disloyalty by affecting to mistrust the intentions of the two hundred and ten gentlemen who were distributed in the different apartments of the palace.

These gentlemen had formed themselves into regular companies of life-guards, each of which was commanded by a general officer; and, as most of them were trained to arms, they formed, in an admirable manner, for the protection of the interior of the palace; and, animated by enthusiasm

thusiasm and despair, would undoubtedly have made a most gallant defence, had the King remained at their head. A small body of grenadiers of the national guards, interspersed among the gentlemen, was addressed in strong and pathetic terms by the King and Queen. "Gentlemen"—said the latter—"every thing that is dear to you, your wives, your children, your property, all now depend on our *existence*: as our interest is the same, you ought not to have the least mistrust of these brave servants, who will partake in your dangers, and will defend you to the last."—The King also addressed them with firmness and dignity. Penetrated with the enthusiasm of loyalty, an involuntary tear started into every eye; the national grenadiers loaded their pieces in presence of their Majesties, and, in language more expressive than words, every man appeared to profess his intention to die for his sovereign.

At this instant, De Belair, the commander of a legion, represented to the Queen, that a great part of the national guards were alarmed at the collection of troops in the interior of the palace; but her Majesty replied,—“Nothing shall ever separate us from these gentlemen, who are our most faithful friends. They will partake in the dangers of the national guard; they will obey you. Place them at the mouth of a cannon, and they will shew you how to die for your King.”

During these transactions, M. Dupont, a member of the Constituent Assembly, who was stationed at the palace, with a battalion which he commanded, drew up a petition to the National Assembly, the object of which was to require that the federates from Marseilles should be ordered to return home: but this petition, though signed by great numbers, had no effect.

A quarter before eight, a municipal officer entered the council-chamber, where the King and the Royal Family were sitting; and, on being asked by De Joly, the keeper of the seals, what the populace demanded, said—“*The King's deposition.*” “*Well, then*”—replied, the latter, —“*let the Assembly pronounce it.*” The Queen then interrupted the conversation, to ask what, in that case, would become of the King; a question which disconcerted the municipal officer, who held down his head and was silent.

Rœderer now entered the chamber, at the head of the department; and his first words were—“No person shall interpose between the King and the department.” He requested to speak with the King and Queen in private: he proceeded to represent the imminent danger which, at this moment, impended over the head of their Majesties, and all who were attached to them: he assured them, that very few of the national guard were to be depended upon, and that the greater part of them were totally corrupted; that, instead of defending the palace, they would instantly join the assailants; that the number of the insurgents was such, as it would be madness to oppose; and entreated, that they would go to the National Assembly, as to the only asylum which was open to them. The Queen, whose penetration led her to suspect a conspiracy, and whose strength of mind was ever more disposed to firm resistance than servile submission, opposed, with energy, the treacherous proposal of Rœderer, and assured two persons, in whom she confided, that she would rather be nailed to the walls than quit the palace. Being assured, however, by that officer, that the King's death, and that of her whole family, would be the inevitable consequence of her refusal, she, at length, complied: they strictly forbade their noble friends to accompany them; but it was with grief and reluctance that they

they submitted to the command of their beloved master, to separate themselves from his person in that hour of danger and distress.

The King met with no interruption in crossing the Thuilleries to the stair-case, leading to the terrace of the Feuillans; but there he was detained more than a quarter of an hour by the populace, who exclaimed—"We will have no more tyrants!—Death! death!" The directors of the department at length prevailed on the multitude to give way; and a man, of the name of Rochet, one of the most forward of the insurgents, snatched the Dauphin out of the Queen's arms, and carried him to the Assembly.

The legislative body, at the moment their Majesties entered, were engaged in a tumultuous debate, on the motion for sending a deputation to conduct the King and the Royal Family to the Hall. As soon as he entered, the King placed himself by the side of the President, and thus addressed the Assembly—"I am come here to prevent a great crime—Among you, gentlemen, I believe myself in safety." The King and Queen were accompanied by their son and daughter; the six ministers of state; M. de Montmorin, governor of Fontainebleau; the Prince de Poix; Messieurs D'Hervilli, De Tourzel, and De Brizes; two other gentlemen of the household; and the municipal officer, Leroulx.—A voluntary deputation of the members had proceeded to the door of the Hall to introduce them.

A member having observed, that, according to the constitution, the deliberative functions of the Assembly were suspended by the King, it became a matter of some embarrassment to know where to dispose of the unfortunate monarch; some were for placing him at the bar, and others in the galleries. After waiting, for some time, the event of this important

debate, the Royal Family seated themselves on the benches destined for the ministry: but this was still objected to; and it was, at last, observed, that they might be accommodated in a small box, about ten feet square, and six feet high, behind the President's chair, separated by an iron grating, and which had been appropriated to the editors of a newspaper, at that time well known, under the title of the *Logographe*, but since suppressed for its *accurate* repetition of the speeches and proceedings of the members, to the total destruction of many *oratorical* reputations. In this confined situation the Royal Family spent fifteen hours, on a burning hot day, exposed to imminent danger, and loaded with indignities.

It would be foreign from the purpose of this Narrative, to relate the horrid transactions, which took place at the palace, after the King's departure. Suffice it to observe, that at nine o'clock, Westermann, the leader of the insurgents, knocked at the gate of the Cour-Royale, and was refused admittance: the gate, however, was soon forced open, when the cannoniers joined the rabble, and turned their cannon against the palace; that, in about a quarter of an hour, five of the Swiss, posted at the foot of the great stair-case, were successively seized by a party of the *Sans Culottes*, and after their arms were taken from them, though they had made no resistance, were massacred in cold blood. *Then, and not till then*, did M. de Castelberg execute *the order he had received*—through the Baron D' Erlach—from the commander of the national guards, who had himself received it from the *mayor*, to repel force by force, and command his men to fire. The gallant defence of those brave fellows, who for some time successfully repelled the attacks of an immense multitude, at once cowardly and ferocious, and did not relax in their efforts, until restrained from farther resistance by a positive order from the King, will infallibly command the respect of future ages,

ages, while the hand of valour shall decorate their tombs with never-fading laurels, and the pen of history consecrate their memory.

When the report of the cannon was first heard in the Assembly, one of the members, starting from his seat, as if panic-stricken, exclaimed, "Do you hear?—They are now endeavouring to destroy freedom, and re-establish despotism. Our enemies have been encouraged by our supineness. Let us rouse with the people—Let us swear to maintain liberty and equality!" The whole Assembly, like a band of puppets moved by the same spring, were instantly on their legs, with their right-hands extended, and repeated the words, they had so often pronounced before—"Yes, we swear!" The first part of the observation, which operated as the stimulus to this unanimous impulse, it must be confessed, was curious; for the only destruction, which was then going forward, was the destruction of the palace, and its gallant defenders; and the only establishment, that of the sovereignty of the mob, which is, indeed, despotism of the worst species, but certainly not that kind of despotism to which the sagacious member alluded.

A subsequent decree placed all property and persons under the safeguard of *the people of Paris*; and the applause excited by this wise determination, soon after increased by the entrance of a deputation from the new self-elected municipality—The assassins of Maudat—preceded by three banners, on which were inscribed—"Liberty!—Country!—Equality!"—The orator of the band thus addressed the Assembly—

"Legislators! The new magistrates *of the people* appear at your bar;
"the dangers of the country superinduced our nomination, consecrated
"by circumstances, and of which our patriotism will render us worthy.
"The people, at length, tired of being dupes of the perfidy of the
"court,

“ court, and its ministers of intrigue, have thought it time to endeavour to
“ save the empire, on the brink of ruin.

“ Legislators, all that remains to be done, is for us to second the
“ exertions of the people. We come here, in their name, to urge you
“ to the adoption of measures for the public safety. Petion, Manuel,
“ and Danton are still our colleagues. Santerre is at the head of the
“ armed force. Let traitors tremble in their turn. This day is the
“ triumph of *civic virtues*!

“ The blood of the people has been shed; foreign troops who
“ have remained within our walls only by a new crime of the exe-
“ cutive power, have fired upon the citizens. Our unhappy brethren
“ have left behind them widows and orphans.

“ The people, who have deputed us to you, have instructed us to
“ declare, that they can acknowledge no other judges of the *extraor-*
“ *dinary* measures, which necessity and resistance to oppression, have
“ led them to adopt, than the French people, *your sovereign and*
“ *ours*, united in the primary assemblies.”

What the King suffered from an address of this nature, followed by the most indecent plaudits, may be easily conceived. But, indeed, the indignities he experienced on this disastrous day, have only been equalled by the sufferings of our unhappy monarch, Charles the First, when exposed to the cowardly insults of the *philosophers* of that age.

It must be acknowledged, however, that the deliberations of the National Assembly could be no longer said to be *free*; they were overawed by a clamorous multitude in the galleries, aptly denominated by

by one of the members, "*ferocious brutes*;" and by troops of ruffians without, who threatened the lives of those who dared to think, to speak, or act for themselves. Appalled by terror, they drew up and passed, with confused precipitation, a series of decrees; declaring the executive power suspended; the authority given by the constitution to Lewis the Sixteenth from that moment revoked; and inviting the people to meet in primary assemblies, and to form a National Convention, which, by a subsequent decree, was appointed to meet on the twentieth of the ensuing month, September. On the following day, the ministers appointed by the King were declared to have forfeited the confidence of the nation, and a new executive council was appointed, and consisted of Roland, for the home department; Servan, for that of war; and Claviere, for the finance. Le Brun was nominated minister of foreign affairs; Monge, of the marine; and *Danton*—a miscreant who, bred to physic, knew nothing of the art, but *how to kill*—was appointed minister of *justice*.

The Royal Family remained under the same roof with the Assembly until the thirteenth of August. The entrance into the small box, which they occupied, was behind from the corridor, through a small closet, which was the only place into which they could retire; and they came into the box before nine in the morning of the tenth, and remained till midnight, when they were conducted to an adjacent committee-room, where they passed the night, returning to the box about ten in the morning. On the two following days they retired about ten at night. They were under the necessity of taking every refreshment they needed throughout the day, in the little closet adjoining the box. On the tenth the King took nothing but a small biscuit, and a glass of lemonade; the Queen, only a basin of soup. On the subsequent days

days they had their dinner from a neighbouring *traiteur*, which was served in the same closet. Their sole occupation, during this time, was listening to the debates of the Assembly, a punishment aggravated by the personal abuse with which they were frequently interspersed. One member, Chabot, who had passed his life in preaching charity, penitence, meekness, humility, and forgiveness, in the garb of a Capuchin Friar, in the midst of his speech, said, "That all the bloodshed of the tenth, and all the miseries of the country, were owing to the perjury and treason of that traitor!" pointing to the King.

It had become an object of discussion, how to dispose of the Royal Family. The National Assembly, at first, decreed, that they should be lodged in the palace of Luxembourg; but this decree was revoked, on the representations of one of the sections, that there were subterraneous passages belonging to that building, by which the King might be carried off. Before this point was settled, a petition was presented to the Assembly, reproaching them with having decreed only the suspension of the King, when all France wished for his deposition.

"Why wait for the National Convention?"—said the petitioners—"The *people* are ready to sanction your decrees. Lewis the Sixteenth is loaded with the curses of the nation. He basely abandoned his palace, that the assassins of the people might act more boldly. He came among you for no other purpose, but to pronounce your condemnation, if his troops had been victorious. Widows and wretched infants call to you for vengeance. Can any of you be unwilling to become the severe judge of the flagitious Lewis? Give orders to your generals to cause the declarations of the rights of man to be read to every people, and to proclaim war against all tyrants."

At

At the instigation of the Commune de Paris, it was at length decreed, that the King should reside in the Temple, whither the Royal Family were accordingly conducted on the thirteenth of August. As they entered the carriage, some person remarked, that they were putting too many into the coach; on which his Majesty, with a look of good-humour, replied, "Not at all; M. Petion knows that I can support a much longer journey, with a great many in the carriage:"—alluding to his return to Paris from Varennes, when the King, Queen, Dauphin, and Madame Elizabeth, with Barnave and Petion, were all in the same coach. As they passed along the streets, the confluence of people was prodigious; and, to encrease the distress of the Royal Captives, the mob insisted that the windows of the carriage should be kept down. In going through the Place Vendôme, whether from accident or design, the carriage was stopped a considerable time near the overturned statue of the Fourteenth Lewis: but no farther interruption was experienced, and the Royal Family fortunately reached the Temple in safety.

The Princess Lamballe; Madame Tourzelle, governess of the Royal children; and some other of the Queen's female attendants, were conveyed to the Temple at the same time.

The faction having thus far succeeded in their attempts to promote the abolition of the Monarchy, it now only remained to effect the destruction of the Monarch; for which purpose they had again recourse to their usual arts of calumny and falsehood. All the King's friends were either inhumanly massacred, or compelled to fly their country; the liberty of the press was totally abolished, and the propagation of republican sentiments industriously enforced; and papers, *said* to be found in the Tuilleries, tending to expose the pretended conspiracies of the court, were sedulously circulated throughout the kingdom.

In the mean time, in the Gardens of the Tuilleries, in the Place de Louis Quinze, and in the Palais Royal, men were seen mounted on chairs, haranguing to small circles formed around them. The continual theme of these orators, hired for the purpose, was the treachery of the King, and the profligacy of the Queen, whom they generally distinguished by the appellation of Monsieur and Madame Veto. The stage too was prostituted to the same purpose, and no pieces were suffered to be represented but such as were calculated to inspire sentiments and passions favourable to the second *Revolution*, for the insurrection of the tenth of August was already dignified with that name.

In a petition presented to the National Assembly, some few days after the imprisonment of the Royal Family, the following inhuman requisition appeared—"Let all communication between Lewis the Sixteenth and his wife be stopped. France will be saved when that Medicis shall no longer have it in her power to inspire her fury into the soul of this new Charles the Ninth." What resemblance can be found between the characters here brought into comparison with each other, it would puzzle even *Republican* ingenuity to demonstrate!—Had the unhappy Lewis possessed one atom of the disposition of the sanguinary *hero* of St. Bartholomew's day, it is highly probable the French Revolution would never have taken place.

But the truth of their assertions appeared of little consequence to the designing and disaffected, so that they tended to keep alive a spirit of resentment against their captive Monarch and his afflicted Consort. On the twenty-ninth of August, a member of the National Assembly thus addressed his comrades: "Be assured that there still exists a conspiracy in Paris; every minute part of which it is your duty to trace. The vigilance of the guards at the Temple has been lulled. The prisoners there
" have

“ have found means of communication with the traitors at Coblenz. Is
“ it not enough that she still breathes, without your permitting her to
“ renew her *counter-revolutionary* plots? Deprive her of the means of
“ corresponding with our enemies, and let the weighty nullity of Lewis
“ the Sixteenth have no correspondence of any kind, except with his shame
“ and his remorse.

“ I require, in the first place, that search may be made for the press of
“ which the conspirators make use ;—in the second place, that all the mem-
“ bers of the King’s family shall be separately confined, without any com-
“ munication with each other, or with any person out of the prison.”

The first of these articles was adopted by the Assembly ; the others were rejected.

Such were the inflammatory arts employed by the faction, as preparatory to the projected massacres of the second of September ; conceived and accomplished under the auspices and direction of Danton, and his execrable associates. To aggravate the rigours of confinement, it had been resolved to deprive the illustrious Captives in the Temple—who, robbed of every thing by the insurgents, had been indebted to the attention of Lady Sutherland, the Duchess of Grammont, and the Duke de Choiseul, even for a change of linen—of that consolation which friendship alone can bestow in the hour of calamity. Those faithful attendants, who had shared all their dangers, and all their persecutions, were torn from them, and committed to different prisons. The Princess de Lamballe, not more distinguished for the splendor of her personal charms, than for the possession of every virtue that dignifies the mind, and gives additional lustre to beauty, had been conveyed to the Hotel de la Force ; and being known to be the

Queen's particular friend, she was marked, by the assassins of the second of September, as a fit object to glut their sanguinary rage.

The Princess was in bed when summoned to appear before a self-elected tribunal within the prison, prepared to sanction murder by a vain mockery of legal forms. Hesitating, at first, to obey the dreadful citation, she was told that death would be the consequence of her disobedience. She therefore put on her clothes in haste, and was conducted before the pretended judges, who were two municipal officers, *Hebert and l'Huillier*. The dreadful scene that now presented itself to her sight instantaneously deprived her of her senses:—the ground was strewed with reeking instruments of death; before her stood the executioners with blood-stained hands; and her ears were saluted with the dreadful shrieks and groans of murdered victims expiring in the street. As soon as the beautiful captive recovered herself sufficiently to attend to the questions that were put to her, her examination began. Having declared her name and quality, she was asked whether she had any knowledge of the plots of the court on the tenth of August? but all efforts to extort from her any thing that could tend to criminate the Queen, or any part of the Royal Family, proving ineffectual, the judges concluded her examination by ordering her to swear that she would preserve Liberty and Equality, and *hate the King, the Queen, and Royalty*. To the first part of the oath the Princess observed, she would willingly accede; but her heart revolted too much at the last, to suffer her to pronounce it; nor could the exhortations of a by-stander, who, in a whisper, assured her that death would be the certain consequence of her refusal, induce her to comply.

The judge having given orders *to release her*, which, by those who appear to have been well acquainted with the manœuvres of this horrid tribunal,

tribunal, has been said to be equivalent to a signal for her assassination, the Princess was conducted out of the prison; but she had no sooner entered the street, than she received from behind a violent blow on the head with a sabre, which instantly produced a violent effusion of blood. In this situation she was supported by two men, who laid hold of her arms, and forced her to continue her progress over the mangled bodies that lay around her. She fainted every moment from loss of blood; and when, at last, she became so enfeebled as to be unable to proceed any farther, she was suffered to fall on the palpitating bodies of her fellow-victims, and her sufferings were terminated by the pikes of the assassins. The corpse was speedily stripped, and exposed to the sight and insult of a licentious mob. In this position it remained upwards of two hours; and as the blood which flowed from the wounds disfigured its fair form, some wretches, who were placed there for the purpose, washed it away, and pointed out its beauties, with suitable comments, to the spectators. After a series of indignities, too shocking to relate, the limbs were severed from the body, and, being distributed to different troops of Cannibals, were dragged through the streets. The head, fixed upon a pike, was first carried to the Abbey of St. Anthony, where it was shown to an intimate friend of the murdered Princess; and, in order to complete this refinement of cruelty, which the Devil himself must have suggested, it was thence conveyed to the Temple, for the horrid purpose of wounding the feelings of the Royal Family, and of the Queen in particular, with the agonizing sight.

This violation of humanity was sanctioned by the approbation of the Commissaries at the Temple, who bestowed on the unbridled fury of the mob the appellation of "*a just vengeance*;" and consented not only to admit a certain number of the assassins into the court, to carry the head in triumph before the windows of the royal apartment—"that those who had conspired to betray the country, might behold the fatal termination of
" their

“ their plots ;”—but even to advertise the King and Queen of their requisition and approach. The head was accordingly placed before the window ; and the King was, by the commander of the National Guard, compelled to observe it : the Queen and the Princess Elizabeth were fortunately prevented, by a temporary deprivation of their senses, from beholding the horrid sight.

While the situation of the King was rendered more deplorable by the persecuting spirit of his adversaries, and the miseries of captivity were heightened by malicious indignities and studied insults, the new Convention met on the twenty-first of September, and appeared to be composed of the refuse of the two preceding assemblies. Lowness of station, and violence of temper, had been considered as essential qualifications in the character of a representative ; and, it has been justly observed, that from such a body of men, but little of wisdom, little of unanimity, little of moderation, could be expected. They accordingly soon split into factions, and disgraced the very name of a legislature by altercation, abuse, and even manual contest.

At the first meeting of this extraordinary Convention, Collot d’Herbois, a strolling player, mounted the Tribune, and, with as much coolness and as little circumlocution as if the demolition of a theatre had been the object of his motion, proposed *the eternal abolition of Royalty in France*. This proposal, which tended to subvert a constitution, that every man in the kingdom had *sworn* to maintain, was strenuously supported by one of the constitutional *prelates*, Bishop Gregoire, who supplied the want of argument by an abundance of rhetorical flowers. The following specimen of his logic is truly curious :—“ The word ‘ King ’ is still a talisman, whose
“ magic power *may* tend to the creation of many disorders ; *therefore* the
“ abolition of Royalty *is necessary*. Kings are, in the moral world, that
“ which

“ which monsters are in the natural : courts are always the centre of
“ corruption, and the *workshop* of crimes.”

As the confidence and presumption of men are generally found to increase in proportion to their ignorance, it will not be deemed surprising, that an Assembly, composed as this was, should receive such a motion as if it had been the immediate effect of divine inspiration. The observation of Bazire, that a decree so important required some little discussion, was treated as an insult to the understanding of the members; the proposal of Herbois was unanimously adopted; and the abolition of Royalty voted *by acclamation*. Thus was the death-bed prediction of that sensible profligate Mirabeau, that with him the French Monarchy would die, completely verified.

By the adoption of this violent measure, the Assembly reduced their Sovereign to a situation the most extraordinary, and the most distressing: forcibly expelled from his palace by a rebellious mob; imprisoned by the very power to which he had fled for protection; and, finally, despoiled of his lawful authority, without a hearing, without a trial, and even without a charge, *legally* preferred. The members of the Convention, aware of the imputation to which such conduct must inevitably subject them, resolved to sanction one act of injustice by another, and to try the Monarch, on whom they had already inflicted the severest punishment affixed, by the constitutional code, to crimes of the highest magnitude.

Two questions now naturally occurred:—What crimes has Lewis committed? and, What court is competent to try him?—A *lawyer* would probably have been puzzled to find a satisfactory answer to these questions; but the Assembly, whose eminent skill in the subjugation of impediments has already been demonstrated, easily removed all difficulties; and, after
pointing

pointing out the means of supplying accusations, determined, by virtue of their omnipotence, to unite, in their own persons, the hitherto incompatible characters of accusers and judges. The plunder of the Palace afforded the grounds of their proceeding; and the papers which had been seized in the King's apartment, were previously declared, by these consistent judges, to be amply sufficient to substantiate the guilt of the Royal Culprit. Those papers, indeed, had already passed through various hands; but this circumstance was deemed insufficient to affect their authenticity, and a committee was accordingly appointed to inspect and arrange them, and also to collect evidence against the unhappy Lewis from every other channel. It is necessary to observe, that this committee was composed of men who had invariably professed and evinced the most violent animosity against the fallen Monarch.

Several weeks were employed in this nefarious investigation; and, at length, when every circumstance that wore even the smallest appearance of criminality, had been carefully selected from the heterogeneous mass, it was determined to bring the accused Monarch to the bar of the Assembly. That persecuted Prince had been hitherto kept in a state of ignorance with regard to the proceedings of the Convention, and even knew not that a single charge had been exhibited against him. When disturbed, therefore, on the morning of the eleventh of December, by an unusual beating of drums, and trampling of horses, in the court-yard of the Temple, he began to entertain the most serious apprehensions for the safety of himself and his family:—apprehensions, which were by no means dispelled by the entrance of the Mayor, who declared that he had information to communicate to the King, which required the absence of his family. This dreadful preparation immediately convinced Lewis that his death was resolved on; and the parting looks that were interchanged between the wretched Monarch and his unhappy Consort, who was impressed with

with the same idea, may more easily be conceived than described. Fortunately, these fears were of short duration; the Mayor declaring, that the object of his mission was to carry his Sovereign to the bar of the Convention.

One hundred thousand armed men having been previously distributed in different parts of the metropolis, Lewis left the Temple at noon, escorted by large bodies of horse and foot, under the command of *Santerre*. The Mayor, and two members of the Convention, accompanied him in the carriage, which was surrounded by thirty municipal officers.

On his arrival at the hall, he was, in consequence of a previous decree, brought to the bar, attended by the Mayor, the Commander in Chief, and another officer of the National Guard. His dress was plain, his countenance serene, and his deportment dignified. Having received *permission* to be seated, he was thus addressed by the President of the Convention:

“ LEWIS—the people of France accuse you.—The National Convention has decreed, that you shall be tried, and that its members shall be your judges.—You will now hear the crimes of which you are accused; and it is your place to answer such questions as shall be put to you.”

The King made no reply to this address; but, though wholly unprepared for such an examination as he was now obliged to undergo, he displayed so much coolness, spirit, judgment, and presence of mind, as greatly enhanced the opinion of his understanding, and effectually defeated the malignant intentions of his persecutors, who hoped that the confusion generally produced by surprise, would betray him into contradictions highly prejudicial to his cause.

K

He

He was first accused of having interrupted, on the twentieth of June 1789, the sitting of the Constituent Assembly, by suspending the members from their functions, and expelling them, by force, from the hall in which they met:—but this he repelled by observing that, at that time, there existed no *law* which forbade such an exertion of his power. Nor was he less successful in repelling the two succeeding charges, in which he was accused of having, on the twenty-eighth of June 1789, surrounded the Assembly with troops; repaired thither to dictate laws to the nation, by presenting two royal declarations subversive of freedom; and by commanding, in an arbitrary manner, the members to disperse;—of having ordered the regiment of Flanders to march to Versailles, with several other regiments, by which means the lives of many citizens were lost; and of having neglected to withdraw such troops until the Bastille had been demolished, and a general insurrection taken place. In answer to these charges, Lewis observed, that he only exercised the rights with which he was then invested; asserting his privilege of directing the troops to march wherever he might deem their presence necessary; but disclaiming all wish or intention of promoting an effusion of blood.

By the fourth charge he was accused of persevering in plans hostile to the National Liberty; of delaying to sanction the *Rights of Man*, and the decrees for the abolition of personal servitude, feudal rights, and tythes. That, in these particulars, he had been guided by prudence and justice, was the proper answer given by Lewis to this frivolous accusation. To the fifth, which declared that, at the festival at Versailles, he had excited his guards, “while the orgies were celebrated in his sight,” to insult the nation by allowing the *national cockade* to be trampled upon, and by wearing himself the *white cockade*, he replied, it was *false* and unfounded.

When

When told, that, at the *federation* of the fourteenth of July 1790, he had taken an oath, which he afterwards violated, by endeavouring to corrupt the public mind, through the agency of TALON in Paris, and of MIRABEAU (who was to publish a memorial against the Revolution) in the Provinces, he observed, that it was impossible for him to recollect, with accuracy, what passed at that distance of time; but whatever it was, he said, it passed *previous to the acceptance of the Constitution*.

The next charge, which accused him of farther corrupting the *public*, by the distribution of large sums of money among the populace, as he rode through the suburb of St. Anthony, for the insidious end of gaining popularity, and *enslaving* the people, made a deep impression on the unfortunate Prince; for the *first* and *only* time he appeared strongly affected—his feelings were deeply wounded—the tear of sensibility stole down his cheek—but he wiped it away; and, recovering his former composure, gave this memorable answer:—*To give assistance to those who appeared to be in want, ever afforded me the most heart-felt satisfaction. The relief of distress was the only object I had in view.*

To the charge, that he had meditated an *escape*, by proposing to go, on the twenty-eighth of July 1790, from Versailles to St. Cloud, the King justly replied, that it bore an absurdity on the very face of it. He was then told, that a plan of a *counter-revolution* had been presented to him in the month of February 1791, when he assembled a number of nobility to favour his escape; and that while he amused the representatives of the people by his declaration to foreign powers, he was meditating that flight, which he afterwards effected on the twenty-first of June following, and in which Bouillé was ordered, by him, to assist with an armed force. After disclaiming all recollection of the memorial alluded to, Lewis referred the Assembly, on the subject of his journey to Varennes, to the answers which

he, at that time, made to the commissioners appointed by the Constituent Assembly, and which we have given at large in a former part of this Narrative.

He was accused of having conspired with *La Fayette* and *Mirabeau*, for the purpose of overturning the constitution, in consequence of which the lives of several citizens had been lost, on the seventeenth of July, in the *Champ de Mars*: but the King disclaimed all knowledge of such conspiracy; and remarked, that the events of the seventeenth of July could not possibly affect him. With equal decision he denied having paid large sums for the printing and distribution of libels, pamphlets, and journals, written with a view to pervert the public opinion, to discredit the assignats, and support the cause of the emigrants.

“ You affected,” said his accusers, “ to accept the constitution in September 1791. The speech you then delivered indicated your intention to maintain it; yet you laboured to effect its subversion before the period of its completion.”—“ You do not specify,” replied the Royal Captive, “ in what manner I attempted to subvert the constitution I had accepted—
“ *I cannot answer a nullity.*”

The next charge contained an *assertion*, that though a Convention had taken place at *Pilnitz*, on the twenty-fourth of July, between LEOPOLD of AUSTRIA and FREDERICK-WILLIAM of BRANDENBURGH, for the express purpose of re-establishing the throne of absolute monarchy in France, Lewis had not revealed it to the National Assembly until it had become public throughout Europe. But the King declared, that he had communicated that event to the legislative body the instant he was apprized of it; though all affairs, he observed, respecting the Constitution, more immediately concerned his ministers.

In

In answer to the accusation of having favoured the insurrection of the inhabitants of *Arles*, by sending commissioners to encourage the insurgents, he appealed to the instructions of those commissioners (none of whom he knew at the time they were proposed to him by the ministers) which would sufficiently evince the nature of the orders they had received from him.

He was next accused of having delayed to execute the decree passed by the Assembly, for the annexation of *Avignon* and the *Comtat Venaissin* to France, upwards of a month, during which interval that country had been desolated by a civil war; but Lewis observed, that this charge could only affect the persons who were sent thither, and those who sent them. To some other vague accusations, of having neglected to enforce measures of adequate vigour against insurgents in various parts of the kingdom, he replied, that he had only given such orders as were proposed to him by his ministers; but that it was impossible, with regard to the different orders given to the troops on such occasion, to make a proper reply without having the necessary papers before him.

One charge is peculiarly worthy of notice, as it displays, in a striking point of view, the unskilfulness and profligacy of his accusers:—"You gave the command of the South," said they, "to WIGENSTEIN, who wrote to you, on the twenty-first of April, in these terms:—In a short time I will rally round your Majesty's throne millions of Frenchmen, again become worthy of the wishes which you form for their happiness."—"This letter," said the King, "even by your own mode of stating the charge, is *posterior to his recal*—but I remember no such letter, and WIGENSTEIN has not been employed since his recal."

Another

Another letter was then read, signed with the names of his two brothers, in order to prove that he maintained a correspondence with the emigrants, and sanctioned with his approbation their hostile proceedings. But, admitting the authenticity of the letter, which still remains to be proved, no such inference could possibly be drawn from it by any unprejudiced person. The King himself disclaimed, in the most positive manner, all knowledge whatever of this letter; and declared that he had, in compliance with the injunctions of the Constitution, disavowed all the proceedings of his brothers, the moment he was made acquainted with them.

Again, when charged with having neglected to raise the army to the usual war-establishment, and of having opposed the levying of twenty thousand troops, as decreed by the legislative body, he peremptorily denied the fact, maintaining that he had not only given positive orders to the ministers to augment the army to the war-establishment, but had commanded them to lay a list of it before the Assembly.

“ You gave orders,” said his accusers, “ to the commanders of the troops to disorganize the armies, to excite whole regiments to desert, and to pass the Rhine, in order that they might join your brothers, and LEOPOLD of AUSTRIA. This fact is proved by a letter from Toulangeon.”—“ *There is not,*” replied Lewis, “ *one word of truth in this accusation.*”

He was then accused with having instructed his brothers, and other agents, to strengthen the peace between *Turkey* and *Austria*, that the latter, by withdrawing her troops from the Turkish frontier, might be enabled to direct a greater force against *France*; which circumstance was said to be proved by a letter from M. CHOISEUL GOUFFIER, ambassador at Constantinople.

Constantinople. But he averred, that M. Gouffier had not spoken the truth, and that no such measure ever existed.

To the charge of having neglected to inform the legislative body of the hostile intentions of Prussia, until the tenth of July 1792, when fifty thousand of her troops were marching against France, he replied, that he had no knowledge of the fact before that period; and that the ministers were entrusted with all the diplomatic correspondence. When accused of placing DABANCOURT, the nephew of CALONNE, at the head of the war department, and of ordering the frontier towns of *Longwy* and *Verdun* to be dismantled, by which means the enemy obtained possession of them, he declared, that he knew not that DABANCOURT was related to CALONNE;—that it was not he who left those places in a defenceless state; and that if their situation had been really such as it was now represented to have been, he was wholly ignorant of the fact.

When charged with destroying the navy, by suffering BERTRAND (the marine minister) to give so many passports, as not to leave a sufficient number of officers for the performance of port-duty, and by refusing to dismiss that minister when his culpable conduct was represented to him by the legislative body, he replied, that he had endeavoured, by all possible means, to retain the officers in the service; and that as the Assembly had exhibited no specific charge, of a criminal nature, against BERTRAND, he did not think it just to dismiss him.

“ You sent agents to the colonies to effect a counter-revolution there, at the same time that it was to have taken place at home.”—“ If any persons,” said Lewis, “ asserted that they were my agents in the colonies, *they did not speak the truth.* I had no concern whatever in the circumstances you now state.”—“ The interior parts of the country,” pursued his

his accusers, "were convulsed by *fanatics*—you *declared* yourself their "protector, by *manifesting* an evident *intention* of recovering, by their "means, your former power."—"This charge," replied the King, "*deserves* "no answer.—I had neither intention nor knowledge of any such design."

"The legislative body passed a decree against refractory priests; but "you, by your VETO, suspended the execution of it."—"The Constitution "invested me with free and full powers to reject or sanction decrees," was the apposite reply made to this and the succeeding charge, in which he was told, that the fermentation having increased, and the minister declared that he knew of no existing laws by which the guilty could be punished, the legislative body passed a new decree, the execution of which he had likewise suspended.

He was accused of having continued the pay of his guards, after they had been disbanded for their *incivism*—and of having written them a letter of thanks: but he observed, that he had only meant to continue their pay until they should have formed a new establishment, in compliance with the requisition contained in the decree of the Assembly; and that the letter of thanks was but a just tribute of gratitude for their past services.

The accusation, of having retained the *Swiss Guards* about his person, in express contradiction to the Constitution, was successfully repelled by an affirmation, that he had fulfilled every decree which had passed on that subject. In answer to the charge of having authorized GILLES and D'ANGREMONT secretly to maintain private companies in Paris, for the purpose of exciting commotions favourable to his project of a counter-revolution, he professed his total ignorance of any such schemes; and averred, in the most decisive manner, that the idea of a counter-revolution never entered his head.

"You

“ You endeavoured, by the offer of considerable sums, to bribe several
“ members of the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies, who presented
“ you with plans for a Counter-revolution.”—“ Many persons,” said the
Monarch, “ presented me with such plans, but I uniformly rejected them
“ all.”—“ Who were the persons that presented such plans?”—“ The
“ plans themselves were so absurd and vague, that I do not, at this time,
“ recollect the authors of them.”—“ To whom did you promise or give
“ money for such plans?”—“ *To no one.*”

When accused of *degrading the national character*, by neglecting to demand reparation for insults offered to French *patriots* in several of the European courts, particularly in Germany, Italy, and Spain, he told his accusers that the Diplomatic Correspondence would prove the reverse of what they asserted to be the fact. Frivolous and absurd as many of these charges must indisputably be considered, it could scarcely be conceived that the persons who preferred them would venture to impute, as a crime, to the King, his review of the Swiss Guards at the palace on the morning of the tenth of August; yet this event really constitutes one of the principal accusations against the persecuted Lewis;—who observed, on the occasion, to the Assembly, that on that day he reviewed *all* the troops stationed at the palace; that the MAYOR, the MUNICIPALITY, and all the CONSTITUENT AUTHORITIES were with him; that he had even requested a deputation might be sent him from the National Assembly, that he might concert with them the proper measures to be pursued at that critical period; and that he afterwards repaired to the Assembly with his family. Interrogated as to the motive which had superinduced the assembly of so large a body of troops at the palace, he replied, that all the Constituent Authorities *knew* that the palace was *threatened*; and that, as he was one of those authorities, he had a right to defend himself.

The next question is truly worthy of an Old Bailey solicitor.—“ Why “ did you cause the blood of the French to be spilled ?”—Here a false fact is assumed, with a view to betray the prisoner into an indirect kind of confession, fatal to himself; but the King, unprepared and unassisted as he was, perceived the pitiful subterfuge, and, with manly dignity, replied, “ SIR, IT WAS NOT MY ACT.” The contrast, between the question and the answer, is too striking to need an observation.—The next question is of a similar nature. “ Why did you authorize SEPTEUIL to monopolize “ sugar, grain, and other articles, at Hamburgh ?”—“ I have no knowledge “ of any such circumstance.” When asked, what had induced him to refuse his assent to a decree, ordering a camp of twenty thousand men to be formed round Paris? he observed, that the Constitution gave him full powers either to sanction decrees or not, as to him should seem expedient; and that, even at that time, he ordered a camp to be formed at Soissons.

The President of the Assembly having declared, that he had no farther questions to propose, and called upon the King to say, whether he wished to add any thing to his defence? Lewis requested to see the papers on which the accusations preferred against him were founded, and to be allowed the right of nominating COUNSEL to conduct his cause. The papers being shown to him, he positively disclaimed all knowledge of the greater part of them. When questioned on the subject of a letter to LA FAYETTE, in which that General was requested to act with *Mirabeau*, for some purpose not explained in the letter, his Majesty said, “ This appears to be “ my hand-writing; but the project alluded to was certainly not that of a “ counter-revolution; and, at all events, there can be no *criminality* in a “ letter that was *never sent*.”

The King was now conducted into another apartment, when it was immediately determined that he should be taken back to the Temple. It was also

also decreed, after a violent debate, "that Lewis Capet, in conformity to "*law*, had a right to *chuse counsel*." Thus the Assembly were forced, as it were, to acknowledge that, in their conduct to their unfortunate Monarch, they ought to take the *law* for their guide; though almost every part of this scandalous prosecution was marked by a flagrant violation of *laws* the most positive and unequivocal; of laws distinguished by the epithet *constitutional*; and, as such, repeatedly declared *sacred and irrevocable*.

The counsel chosen by Lewis, were Target and Tronchet, men of the first talents and reputation in their profession; but the former, to the astonishment of all who had known him in *better* times, refused to accept the honour conferred on him by his Sovereign. The plea of *infirmity*, which he urged in justification of his refusal, might, perhaps, have been considered as unexceptionable—though, in *such* a cause, the loss of health would, by many, have been deemed an insignificant sacrifice!—had it not been accompanied by a declaration, that his *Republican principles* would not allow him to undertake the defence of a *Monarch*. Target had forgotten the oath he had repeatedly taken to maintain the *monarchical* Constitution of 1789, and the efforts he had formerly exerted for the establishment of a limited *Monarchy*!

When the Assembly were apprized of this refusal, Offelin, a deputy, proposed, that the *Convention* should name counsel for the King, whom he must either accept, or find others, within four-and-twenty hours. And, to the natural question, How could it be supposed that the King could place confidence in the counsel *so* nominated? it was replied by Tallien, "Let him do as well as he can; it is his business to find counsel who will "accept; it is ours to avenge the National Majesty!"

Meanwhile, the council of the Commune of Paris communicated to the Convention a decree, which *they* had passed, with regard to the

measures, *in their opinion*, necessary to be adopted under the present circumstances. By this decree, the King was to be deprived of all communication with his family, and to have no intercourse with any person, except his valet-de-chambre, who was to be locked up with him. His counsel were to be strictly examined—*fouillées jusqu' aux endroits les plus sacrés*. After having thrown off the clothes in which they entered, they were to be dressed in others, provided for them in the Temple, and under the inspection of the commissioners who attended the King, and were not to be allowed to leave the Temple till after sentence was pronounced.

This decree, however, was too abominable, even for the *Convention* to hear with patience. The ruffian Robespierre was the only member who had the audacity to support it, which he did with no less warmth than consistency, declaring it to be *too mild* for the occasion. But though he was strenuously seconded by the mob in the galleries, to whom he had made a successful appeal, the decree was finally annulled.

Tronchet, though he had retired at once from practice, and the capital, scorned to follow the example of Target; and, in a letter, addressed to the Minister of Justice, in which he shewed that he was not unconscious of the danger to which he should expose himself, though he considered the call on his humanity as irresistible, accepted the office to which his Sovereign had invited him. Monsieur de Lamoignon Maleherbes, who had formerly been minister to Lewis, though far advanced in years, voluntarily stepped forward on this occasion, and offered his services to his old master in the hour of adversity.

The instruments of faction were now busily at work, in composing pamphlets and hand-bills, for the diabolical purpose of inflaming the populace, while men were hired to mix with the groupes in the Palais Royal, and on the Terrace of the Feuillans, to harangue on the necessity of condemning

demning the King, without farther form of process ; and some of these miscreants did not scruple to assert, that if the Convention did not, the people would take that business on themselves, and afterwards execute the same justice on all the Deputies who should vote for saving him.

Only the short space of twelve days, reckoning from the time on which his counsel had access to him, was allowed to the King for preparing his defence ; though more than three months had been passed in collecting and digesting the evidence to be adduced against him. As the task was so laborious, and the time so short, it was found necessary to provide a third counsel ; and M. de Seze was accordingly appointed an auxiliary to Malesherbes and Tronchet.

During this interval, Lewis, though reduced to a situation, which, from the circumstances attending it, was peculiarly calculated to operate most forcibly on all the passions of the human mind, displayed a degree of fortitude and resignation, that bespoke the Christian hero ; while the conduct of the Assembly exhibited the blackest features of inhumanity, ferociousness, and injustice. The offer of M. Louis de Narbonne, who, having holden the post of Secretary at War, when hostilities commenced between France and the Empire, was peculiarly qualified for the office, to appear as one of the defenders of his Sovereign, was treated with silent contempt by the Assembly ; who rejected, with similar disdain, his generous proposal to quit his retreat in England, and repair to Paris, to take upon him the responsibility attached to the situation he had formerly enjoyed. Sensible that, either as an evidence, or an advocate, he must have greatly contributed to render the innocence of his Sovereign apparent to the world, this horde of assassins passed to the order of the day, without even allowing the cogent reasons, with which M. de Narbonne had supported his application, to be read !

M. de

M. de Lally Tolendal, and M. de Cazales, who had ever been distinguished for their ardent zeal in the cause of monarchy, and for their loyal attachment to the King, made similar applications to the Assembly, who, having no arguments to advance in opposition to their requests, and dreading the effects of their superior talents, had again recourse to the pitiful, and, in this instance, unjust subterfuge, of passing to the order of the day.

Inhuman and unprincipled as such conduct must be considered by all unprejudiced minds, it was still exceeded, in iniquity, by another act of the Assembly, who prevented papers, essential to the defence of the King, from reaching him, or those who had undertaken his defence. Some papers of this description were transmitted from England, by M. Bertrand de Moleville, who had been minister of the Marine. Instead of being delivered to the counsel of Lewis, they were referred to a committee of the Convention; and, when applied for by Malesherbes, the Convention *modestly* passed to the order of the day; though there existed a positive decree of the Constituent Assembly, which declared, that accused persons should freely receive all papers or memorials for their defence within the space of twenty-four hours!!

On the day preceding that which was fixed for hearing the defence of the King, the council of the Municipality met, to decide on the manner in which he should be conducted to the Convention; when the Procureur Syndic, Chaumet, observed, that as the King could be considered in no other light than a condemned criminal soon to be executed, it would be derogatory to the honour of the Magistrates of the People to accompany him; and that he ought, therefore, to be attended by the military only. This man seems to have possessed all the *dignified simplicity* and *virtuous candour* of a Republican; for nothing is more certain than this—that where accusers become judges, conviction must precede trial; his proposition,

position, however, was rejected by a *very small* majority, and he himself, with the Mayor and thirty Municipal Officers, was appointed to escort Lewis to the Convention.

As the Deputies repaired to the hall, on the morning of the twenty-sixth of December, all such as were suspected of favouring the King, were insulted by the mob, who filled the avenues of the Assembly. Though a decree had passed the preceding evening to clear the galleries, and to admit no one until a certain hour, yet, when the members assembled at eight o'clock, they found the galleries filled by persons, who, in violation of the decree, had been suffered to remain there all night; and this violation was sanctioned by the Convention, which, on a motion for enforcing its own decree, passed to the order of the day.

The King left his prison a little before nine, in the mayor's coach, accompanied by Berruyer, commander in chief of the military in the department of Paris, and by all the field officers then in the capital, who were not otherwise on duty. When he arrived, with his counsel, at the bar of the Assembly, the President said, "Lewis, the Convention has decreed, that you shall be finally heard this day." The King replied, "Monfieur de Seze, one of my counsel, will read my defence."

After premising that he and his colleagues were in possession of ample materials for confuting the bulk of the charges exhibited against the King, but that the short period allowed them had rendered it impossible to avail themselves thereof, to the extent they might otherwise have done, he entered at large on the subject, and delivered a defence so accurate and satisfactory, as to have proved that the most unremitting labour and assiduity had been employed in composing it. The malice and falsehood of the leading accusations were clearly demonstrated; and not only the innocence,
but

but the meritorious conduct, of Lewis, was displayed in the strongest point of view.

As soon as the defence was finished, the King arose, and read, from a paper which he held in his hands, the following words:—"Citizens, you
" have heard my defence; I now speak to you, perhaps, for the *last time*,
" and declare that my counsel have advanced nothing but the truth—my
" conscience reproaches me with nothing. I have never been afraid of
" submitting my conduct to public investigation; but my heart was
" wounded at finding, in the act of accusation, the imputation of having
" occasioned the blood of the people to be shed, and particularly at ob-
" serving the disasters of the tenth of August ascribed to me. I hoped that
" the repeated proofs I had given, in the course of my life, of a contrary
" disposition, would have secured me against any such imputation, which
" I now solemnly declare is entirely groundless."

On his return to the Temple, amidst the shouts and insults of a seditious rabble, Chaumet had the brutal insolence to wear his hat in the carriage, which the King remarked by saying, "You had forgotten your hat the
" last time you attended me, but you have been more careful of your
" health on this occasion." Observing Chaumet bowing to and saluting with familiarity some persons in the streets, Lewis said, "I suppose these
" are citizens of your section."—"No,"—answered the Procureur, "they
" do not belong to my section; but they were members of the General
" Council of the 10th of August, *whom I always see with pleasure*."—The souls of those assassins were doubtless congenial with his own.

The scene exhibited by the Assembly, after the King's departure, was perfectly of a piece with the other parts of this disgraceful transaction. Those members who wished for time to appreciate the defence of the
accused,

accused, experienced the grossest insults, not only from many of their brother deputies, but from the audacious rabble in the galleries. Le Gendre, who had imbibed his judicial and legislative knowledge in a slaughter-house, and was, consequently, inured to scenes of slaughter, insisted, with many others, that judgment should be immediately pronounced; Kerfaint asked him, "Whether he meant to act as a judge, or a *butcher*?" Raffron, of the department of Paris, maintained, that sentence should be instantaneously passed on the King, "of whose guilt no *calm and candid* man could have any *doubt*." The people in the galleries highly applauded this declaration, and were equally loud in their expressions of horror at the proposal to adjourn, which excited a complete riot in this *court of justice*. Duhem, rushing into the middle of the hall, followed by a number of the members of the *Mountain*, exclaimed—"The death of *the tyrant!*" and appealed to the galleries, which of course honoured him with their approbation. Well might Dr. Moore say, speaking of some of the members, "They appear to be urged on by brutal and furious instinct to the death of the King, like blood-hounds, who never quit the scent till they have drunk the blood of their prey." It was at length, however, decreed, that every member had a right to pronounce his opinion on the whole cause from the tribune, before the day for the nominal appeal was fixed. But, so eager were the Jacobin party to complete the murder of their Sovereign, that they afterwards procured a repeal of this decree; and, instead of hearing every member from the tribune, it was resolved, that their opinions should be printed, and left on the table, to be read by those who chose it.

On the fourteenth of January, it was determined, that the following questions should be put to all the members, and decided by the nominal appeal:

M

I. Is

I. Is Lewis Capet, late King of France, guilty of a conspiracy against liberty, and of attempts against the general safety of the state?—Yes, or No.

II. Shall the judgment, to be pronounced on Lewis, be submitted to the ratification of the people in the Primary Assemblies?—Yes, or No.

III. What punishment has he incurred?

On the following day they proceeded to the nominal appeal; when, on the first question, the Assembly voted almost unanimously in the affirmative. Many of the members, however, had the honesty to declare, that they gave this opinion as citizens and legislators, but not as judges; because they neither thought themselves qualified for that office, nor authorized by their constituents to assume it.

On the second question, there appeared to be a considerable difference of opinion; though such as ventured to differ from the Jacobins seem to have been exposed to great danger. Some of the members declared they were sensible of this; but being convinced that their constituents had elected them as legislators, and not as judges, and as it was repugnant to their consciences to unite the characters of jury and accusers, they would run every risk rather than do it. One member said, "As I give my vote for referring this matter to the Primary Assemblies of the people, I expect the worst; and I glory in being of the number of those who brave the danger." Another observed, "That in pronouncing the same vote, he devoted himself to the daggers of assassins." But the scandalous manner in which the whole business was conducted, may be easily collected from the following speech of Manuel:—"I see here a Legislative Assembly, but not an assembly of judges; for judges do not murmur at the opinions of their brethren, though different from their own:—they do
" not

“ not openly *abuse* and *calumniate* each other; they are cold as the law,
“ of which they are the organs. If the Convention had been a tribunal
“ of law, a near relation of the King, who has not been restrained either
“ by a sense of shame, or by his conscience, would not have been per-
“ mitted to vote upon this occasion.”

On casting up the votes, there appeared for the reference, 283; against it, 424; 10 refused to vote. The votes upon the last question were not taken till the evening of the sixteenth, the morning having been passed in a debate, on a subject which none but the devil himself could have suggested, at such a period, and none but his most strenuous adherents could have discussed. The faction that was most intent on murdering their King had some doubts, from the disposition of the members on the preceding days, whether such a majority, as the penal code required, viz. two-thirds, for the condemnation of an accused person, could be obtained; they therefore brought forward a question, the object of which was to remove this impediment; and as in almost every instance, during the process, they had violated the law, they now made no scruple to decide, in direct contradiction to an existing statute, that a majority of *one* should suffice.

This iniquitous measure produced the desired effect; and the decision of a small majority destined the unhappy Lewis to the scaffold. Upwards of three hundred voted for imprisonment until the end of the war, and then banishment. Had all who voted for death, with the restriction that the sentence should not be executed till the peace, or till the final completion of the constitution, been subtracted from the majority, it would have been diminished to less than ten votes.

The monster Egalité, when called upon for his vote, spoke as follows :
“ Solely intent on discharging my duty, convinced that all who have conspired, or shall hereafter conspire, against the sovereignty of the people, deserve death, I vote for death.” The whole *cavern of Anthropophagi*, to use an expression of Count Lally Tollendal, resounded with exclamations of horror—and “ Ah! the villain!” was repeated in different parts of the hall.

After the sentence was pronounced, the three advocates of Lewis appeared at the bar, when Deseze read the following letter, signed by the King :

“ I owe to my honour, I owe to my family, not to acknowledge the justice of a sentence that declares me guilty of a crime with which I cannot reproach myself. I therefore appeal to the nation at large, from the sentence of its representatives ; and I empower my counsel, by these presents, and expressly charge them, on their fidelity, to make this appeal known to the National Assembly, and to require its insertion in the minutes of their sittings.”

Deseze implored the members to revise a decree, sanctioned by the approbation of so small a majority ; and urged, in pathetic terms, the necessity of such a revival, on the grounds of justice and humanity.

Tronchet took a different ground, and boldly protested against the validity of a decree, passed in defiance of an existing law.

Maleherbes observed, that he had formerly paid great attention to the important question, of what majority was necessary to enforce the decisions

cisions of a court in criminal cases ; but that, being unused to speak extempore, he begged, in the most earnest and affecting manner, that he might be allowed till the next day to arrange the ideas which he wished to submit to their consideration.

But all the objections, intreaties, and requisitions of the counsel, though supported by law, reason, and equity, were over-ruled by the Convention ; which, on the motion of that sanguinary miscreant, Robespierre, declared, " That there were no grounds for attending to the remonstrances of the " counsel of Lewis."

On the nineteenth of January, 1793, the Convention proceeded to the fourth nominal appeal, on the question of delaying the execution of the sentence, which was terminated at midnight ; when three hundred and ten voted for a respite of the sentence, and three hundred and eighty against it. The Convention then issued orders to the Executive Council, to notify this their final decision to the King on the subsequent day, and to apprize him, that the execution was to take place within twenty-four hours of the notification. It was, at the same time, decreed, that he should be allowed free communication with his family, of which he had lately been deprived, and the liberty of having any ecclesiastic he pleased to attend him.

On the morning of the twentieth, Garat, president of the Executive Council, accompanied by the secretary, and two of its members, repaired to the Temple ; when the King heard, with calmness and resignation, the inhuman sentence that doomed him to the scaffold. He delivered a paper to the President, containing the following requests :—that he might have a respite for three days, in order to prepare himself for appearing in the
presence

presence of his God; and, for that purpose, that he might be freely visited, by a person, whose name he would mention to the commissioners:—that he might be freed from their inspection during the interval allowed him to live:—that he might have free communication with his family:—that the National Convention would permit his family to withdraw from France, to any other country they should chuse. He also recommended to the generosity of the nation, a number of old servants, many of whom had nothing to live on but the pensions he had allowed them.

As if resolved to set every principle of humanity at defiance, the Convention refused to grant the short respite, for which the King had applied. When Lewis was apprized of their refusal—"Very well," said he, "I must submit."

Mr. Edgeworth, a catholic priest, descended from a good family in Ireland, and confessor to the Princess Elizabeth, a post for which he had been solely indebted to his exemplary conduct, was the person fixed on by the King to attend him in his last moments.

Forseeing what would happen, he had, some time before, engaged this respectable clergyman, to perform this sorrowful act of duty and of friendship. The letter, written to inform him that the awful moment was, at length, arrived, was delivered by three soldiers, who received for answer, that Mr. Edgeworth would attend them directly to the Temple. After he had undergone the strict examination of committees, who seemed, by the nature of their questions, to wish to deter him from fulfilling the duty he had come to discharge, he was introduced to his wretched Sovereign, whom he approached with such marks of respect and sensibility, that the unfortunate Prince, most deeply affected, burst into tears, and

and was, for some moments, incapable of utterance. At length he said, "Excuse me, Mr. Edgeworth, I have not been accustomed of late to the company of such men as you."

After passing a short time with his confessor, the King thought he had acquired sufficient fortitude to support an interview with his family. The Queen, the Princess Elizabeth, with the Dauphin and the Princess Royal, were accordingly conducted to his apartment. They continued near three hours together. The inadequacy of words to convey any just idea of a scene, than which none more calculated to affect the soul, and touch all the tender feelings of our nature, has ever issued from the imagination of a poet, will be easily conceived. The King, however, notwithstanding the dreadful conflict *within*, retained his recollection to the last. When the hour of separation approached, the Princess Elizabeth expressed their hopes of another interview in the morning, which the King allowed her to expect. The Queen, in a state of distraction, gave a vent to her just indignation, and burst forth into the most violent expressions against the assassins of her husband. In the bitterness of her soul, she beat her breast, and tore her hair; and her screams were heard, at intervals, all that night of agony and horror.

When his family left him, the King remained for some time with his eyes fixed on the ground, without uttering a syllable; at length, sighing deeply, he exclaimed, "*That moment was dreadful.*" He then assumed his native fortitude, and dismissing for a while his own fate from his mind, entered into familiar conversation with Mr. Edgeworth; talked of the present state of the Gallican church; enquired, with anxious solicitude, after many of its worthy pastors, and expressed the liveliest sensibility at the generous manner in which the English interested themselves in his behalf;

half; and, during this discourse, he betrayed a degree of calmness, and a presence of mind, that astonished his confessor. He then directed his attention to his own affairs, and delivered to the pious pastor, that Will which breathes the same pure spirit of Christianity, that had influenced all the actions of his life. At one he was prevailed on to retire to rest, where he remained till five.

When he rose, he embraced, with ardour, the proposition of Mr. Edgeworth, to say mass, but expressed his doubts as to the possibility of obtaining the permission of his gaolers. His confessor, however, communicated his wishes to the council, who seemed *astonished* at the request; started some difficulties, and uttered the horrid insinuation, that the consecrated wafer might be rendered the vehicle of poison!—But Mr. Edgeworth soon removed all obstructions, by observing, that every thing requisite might be procured with facility. He was ready, as a priest, to officiate; the necessary ornaments might be had at the nearest chapel; and as to the host, that the commissioners might provide themselves. They at length consented; telling him to write down all that he wanted, since they themselves were wholly ignorant of the business.

Every thing being prepared, Mr. Edgeworth, assisted by Clery, the King's faithful domestic, celebrated mass, and administered the sacrament to Lewis; after which, he told his Majesty, that his family expected to see him once more. The King, apprehensive that a second interview might subdue his fortitude, and anxious to spare them also the agony of such a scene, declined it.

Soon after eight o'clock, Santerre knocked at the door of a closet into which the King had retired with his confessor, after receiving the sacrament;

ment ; and informed his Majesty, that the fatal moment was arrived. The King pulled out his watch, and coolly observed, that it was true. He then entered the outer room, and told Santerre he was ready. In descending the stairs, he requested the commissioners to recommend some persons, whom he named to them, and whose services he had no opportunity of requiting, to the Commune ; after which, he turned to Mr. Edgeworth, to bid him adieu ; but that worthy ecclesiastic said, his attendance was not over.—“ What !” said the Monarch, “ do you mean to adhere to me “ still ?”—“ Yes,” replied the confessor, “ to the last.”

With a firm step and dignified mien the King crossed the court, and entered the mayor's carriage, followed by Mr. Edgeworth, a municipal officer, and two officers of the National Gendarmerie, who had orders to kill him, in case any attempt should be made to rescue him. The road from the Temple to the place of execution—the Place de Louis XV.—an extent of two miles, was lined with National Guards, four deep. During the conveyance, the King recited the prayers for persons in the agonies of death. When the coach stopped at the scaffold, he said,—“ Nous voici donc arrivés ;”—and requested, that the officers would take care that no insult should be offered to his confessor. Alighting from the carriage, he pulled off his coat, opened the neck of his shirt, ascended the scaffold with manly firmness ; and, for a few moments, surveyed the surrounding multitude. Then approaching the edge, he made a motion with his hand for the crowd, who were very noisy, to be silent. He was instantaneously obeyed ; and, raising his voice, he said—“ On the point of “ entering into the presence of my God, I now declare, for the last time, “ that I am innocent of the crimes which have been laid to my charge ; “ and it is my wish, that the crime, which is now about to be committed, “ may not be imputed to the French nation—it is the crime but of a

N

“ few

“ few individuals ;—but I hope God will forgive them, as I do, from the “ bottom of my heart. May France,”—here he was interrupted by the ruffian Santerre, who fearful, doubtless, that the accents of truth might at length make some impression on the multitude, ordered the drums to strike up, and the executioners to seize their victim ; calling out to the King, at the same time, that he had not brought him there to speak, but to die.

One of the executioners, of whom there were three, attempting to tie his arms with a cord, the King, for the first time, evinced symptoms of indignation ; but the exhortation of his confessor, patiently to submit to a degradation which had been endured by the Saviour of Mankind, instantaneously produced the desired effect, and rendered him passive as a lamb. The illustrious victim being, at length, extended on the fatal instrument of death, his confessor threw himself on his knees, and placing his face near the King’s, exclaimed—“ Son of St. Louis, ascend to “ Heaven !”—The King’s head was instantly severed from his body by the axe of the guillotine, and the face of Mr. Edgeworth was sprinkled with the blood of his Sovereign. The lifeless head was exposed to the gazing multitude, and a few mercenary wretches exclaimed—“ Vive la “ Nation !—Vive la Republique !”—The body was thrown into a hole, in the burying ground annexed to the church of the Magdalen, and consumed by quick-lime.

Thus perished, by a murder the most atrocious—for *executions*, in violation of existing *laws*, are the *worst* of murders !—the mildest Monarch of the Bourbon race ! Of the excellence of his character, the following attestation—resulting from personal knowledge—of one whose veracity is unimpeachable, and whose attachment was influenced by no sense of obligations

obligations received or expected, affords the most unequivocal proof:
“ I here protest, in the face of his enemies, and truly from my soul, that
“ I have never perceived, that I have never discovered, by surprize,
“ one single spontaneous movement, one single thought proceeding from
“ himself, and from himself without the least extraneous influence, in
“ short, one single sentiment, issuing immediately from his own breast,
“ which was not strictly conformable to the laws of morality and honour ;
“ and which did not manifest, to attentive observers, his anxiety for the
“ advancement of the public welfare, his compassion for his people, and
“ his naturally mild and moderate disposition.”

THE END.



ERRATA.

- | | | |
|-------|---------|--|
| P. 4. | Line 3. | from the bottom, <i>for</i> and could, <i>read</i> nor could. |
| 11. | 8. | from the bottom, <i>for</i> Montmidy, <i>read</i> Varennes. |
| 13. | 6. | <i>dele</i> nor. |
| 15. | 5. | <i>for</i> pretext, <i>read</i> protest. |
| 24. | 8. | from the bottom, <i>for</i> conferring, <i>read</i> confining. |
| 38. | 6. | <i>for</i> powers, <i>read</i> power. |
| 48. | 5. | <i>dele</i> of, <i>before</i> his. |
| 51. | 2. | from the bottom, <i>for</i> maudat, <i>read</i> mandat. |
| 52. | 4. | Idem. |
| 53. | 13. | Idem. |
| | 21. | Idem. |
| | 23. | Idem. |
| 61. | 21. | Idem. |

